

THE VOCABULARY OF KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING  
IN SERBO-CROAT AND ENGLISH

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1972

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## SUMMARY

Chapter One gives a general account of the material used in the analysis of the verbs of knowledge and understanding, informants and method of research. Two novels, Joyce Cary's 'To Be a Pilgrim' and Dobrica Ćosić's 'Daleko je sunce' ('Far Away Is the Sun'), served as basic material for collecting the data. Altogether the number of contexts considered amounted to two thousand three hundred. The term 'substitution' is used to mean replacing the items of the semantic field with a view to keeping the meaning of the contexts constant. Some problems of identification of features are mentioned. The reasons are given for employing a ternary rather than a binary system of features in the componential analysis. A distinction is made between contextual and non-contextual features.

Chapter Two deals with the notion of presupposition, discussing philosophical and linguistic approaches to it as put forward by Strawson, Keenan, Karttunen, the Kiparskys and Fillmore. Three kinds of presupposition are mentioned: logical and pragmatic (as discussed by Keenan, 1971) and presupposition which accounts for the speaker's belief in the truth of what he is expressing. This third kind of presupposition is taken as the basis of the present study. Attention is focussed on the Kiparskys' article 'Fact' (1970) and, in connection with that, Lj. Bibović's article 'Some Remarks on the Factive and Non-factive Complements in English and Serbo-Croatian' (1971) is discussed. Karttunen's classification of verbs in terms of factivity (1970c) is taken as a framework for the classification of the Serbo-Croat and English verbs of knowledge and understanding.

Chapter Three discusses general characteristics of the verbs of this semantic field including aspect, time adverbials which they take and sentence construction. In connection with aspect,

M. Ridjanović's Ph. D. thesis is discussed and a classification of the verbs is made as to process, state and event. M. Ivić's and D. Crystal's approach to the relationship of verbs and time adverbials is referred to and the verbs of knowledge and understanding are classified on the basis of D. Crystal's list of time adverbials (1966). The sentence constructions which those verbs enter is examined with respect to imperative, type of sentence taken as complement, type of object required by the verb and V + V construction. A note is made on the difference in factivity relative to the V + Sentence construction.

In Chapter Four modality is discussed in connection with Halliday's and Leech's approach to it and a distinction is made between modals and pseudo-modals. General conclusions are made as to what the notion of modality involves. The significance of the speaker's role in the system of modality is dwelt upon in more detail and related to the feature /Speaker's knowledge/, the existence of which is supported by examples from both languages. A classification of the verbs is made on this basis. A small group of verbs is then analysed in terms of their 'parenthetical' use.

In Chapter Five the features /Importance/, /Volition/, and /Intention/ are discussed and supported by examples. G. Ryle's theory about achievement verbs is commented upon and taken as a plausible basis for the classification of the verbs of knowledge and understanding.

Chapter Six discussed /Ability/ as one of the major and most relevant features of subjective modality. Three types of ability are recognized: ability to observe, to store information and to reason. The verbs are divided into five groups which are considered separately. Within each group various sub-features are identified and tables are given by way of summary. Among other features, /Direct information/ is regarded as a very

important one and one that is relevant for most verbs of the field. It is discussed with reference to a number of verbs and related to the feature /Factivity/.

In Chapter Seven a group of verbs named 'skill' verbs are examined and sub-classified in terms of features found relevant in the analysis.

Chapter Eight takes up the notion of predictive statements relating it to Boyd and Thorne's article (1969) and McIntosh's article (1966). Numerous examples are given in support of the argument that several discernable kinds of predictions are presupposed by the verbs of knowledge and understanding, such as predictions based on repeated experience, those based on an immediately preceding event and those for which no basis is obvious in the context.

## INTRODUCTION

A number of linguists, anthropologists, psychologists and philosophers have concerned themselves in the past with semantic problems of language analysis. The approaches have varied; so have the purposes of each particular work. Some authors have engaged themselves in the theoretical aspect of the question (such as U. Weinreich, J. J. Katz, F. Postal, R. Burling, Ch. Osgood), some have dealt with the practical problems of analysing part of the vocabulary of a particular language (among these are E. H. Bendix, H. C. Conklin, W. H. Goodenough, A. Lehrer, F. Lounsbury, K. Reuning, K. Sparck-Jones). Some, on the other hand, have worked on both (like E. H. Nida, J. Lyons, or M. Ivić).

For purposes of this research, which is a componential analysis of Serbo-Croat and English verbs of knowledge and understanding, the most relevant works are those analysing a particular semantic field.

S. Öhman (1953) relates that the term 'field' was first mentioned by Ipsen in his paper 'Der Alte Orient und die Indogermanen'. The first detailed development of the notion of semantic fields comes from Trier (1931). The main asset of his theory is that the meaning of a lexical item is determined by its opposition with other items in the vocabulary. The general linguistic theory outlined by de Saussure, in which a language is viewed as a system of signs, is implicit in Trier's approach.

A. Lehrer defines the term 'semantic field' (in her forthcoming book on semantic fields) as 'a group of words closely related in meaning, often subsumed under a general term'. Further, she states that 'the object of the analysis of semantic fields is to collect all the terms that belong to a field and show the relationship

of each of them to one another'.

A componential analysis is then conducted within a semantic field in order to establish the most significant distinctive features of the items in question. Nida (1964) claims that this kind of analysis underlines the differences between units rather than emphasizing their similarities. It is, nevertheless, true that by selecting the distinctive features relevant for the relations of items, we also establish what they have in common.

As for the cross-linguistic contrasting of Serbo-Croat and English verbs of knowledge and understanding, once we have set up the components, we can disregard the fact that we are dealing with two different languages. What matters from then on is the application of items and we can start contrasting them on this higher level of abstraction.

The theory on which I intend to base my analysis is the one outlined in Lyons (1963), (1968a). The main postulates of this semantic theory are as follows:

a. Language is viewed as structure: every lexical item has its place in the vocabulary and contracts different relationships with the other items in the vocabulary.

b. The theory distinguishes between sense and reference, but both sense and reference are included in the meaning of a lexical item. Reference is based on what a lexical item denotes in the 'real' world. Therefore, the referential meaning can, in an explanation, be partly reduced to ostention, i. e. pointing at the object in question. Sense is the sum total of all relations, syntagmatic or paradigmatic, that an item contracts with other lexical items of the vocabulary of a language. It has proved necessary to distinguish between sense and reference mainly because a comparatively limited number of lexemes of any language have referential (ostensive) meaning. Therefore, we say



that referential meaning is useful when it applies, but, since it does not apply in all cases, it cannot be regarded as universally valid. The meaning of an item is primarily its sense, and since I will here be concerned with 'intellectual' terms, I assume that I will be dealing solely with the sense of the items in question.

c. The sense relations that items contract are manifold. A few commonly recognized are: synonymy, hyponymy, incompatibility, converseness, etc. Since in this analysis the stress is on how the two languages work and how their vocabularies are related within the semantic field of knowledge and understanding, and since its aim is to find out the basic principles of correspondence, I do not think it necessary to postulate that any of the relationships between the lexical items analysed is basic. I do not find it necessary to claim with Sparck-Jones (1964) that synonymy is basic, or with Lyons (1963, 1968a) that it is redundant. For the purpose of this analysis the point is irrelevant. This does not mean that some of the relations may not be basic or redundant, but the primacy might well prove to differ with the type of semantic field considered.

In his article on Semantics (in Lyons, 1970), Bierwisch states that 'two sentences  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  are synonymous or paraphrases of each other - if their semantic representations are identical', and further on: 'Notice, incidentally, that relations like paraphrase, entailment, etc. are suitable generalizations of lexical relations like synonymy, hyponymy, etc. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the semantic representations of sentences are, in principle, of the same character as lexical meanings.' (1970:180) This point is useful for it establishes a definite link between a sentence as a whole and its parts in the sense that, as Weinreich puts it, 'the meaning of a sentence of specified structure is derivable from the fully specific meanings of its parts' (1966:417).

Referring to lexical meanings in particular, Bierwisch argues that 'In terms of componential analysis, the meaning of a word is a complex of semantic components (...) connected by logical constants. This assumption immediately allows us to define certain properties and relations of lexical entries (...). Two entries  $E_1$  and  $E_2$  are synonymous, if their meanings consist of the same components connected by the same logical constants.' (1970:170) Depending on how this statement is understood, some modifications might be necessary to account for the nature of the semantic field of knowledge and understanding. If it means that, two items have to share all the features encountered in the analysis, regardless of the context of situation, then very few verbs of this field (if any) can be called synonymous. If, on the other hand, they are supposed to share all the features that a context presupposes, or allows for, then we shall be able to establish the relation of synonymy for quite a number of these verbs. Since, for purposes of an empirical work in semantics, the context is indispensable, it seems more reasonable to make the notion of synonymy essentially context-dependent and consider two items to be synonymous (in the limiting case) even if they are interchangeable in only one context. This point is worth stressing since it has been assumed, especially in philosophical semantics (e.g. Goodman, 1949), that there are no real synonyms since there are no two items that can be substitutes for each other with the same meaning in all contexts (a general definition of context is given below). I, therefore, want to emphasize, with Lyons (1968a), that we need not take such an extreme view at all, particularly because the diversity of use of items in a language allows them to contract different kinds of relationships in different contexts.

d. Context and application play a significant role in this theory. The theory has indirectly merited from the insights of such linguists as B. Malinowski and J.R. Firth. Malinowski (1923)

was the first one to point out the importance of the context of situation, although his emphasis on reference is somewhat too strong. Firth's concept (see Lyons, 1966b) consists of complete contextualization, context within context, of all levels - phonological, grammatical, semantic - of language description. But neither of the theories of context mentioned is fully accepted here. I will assume that there are two types of contexts relevant in semantic analysis. One is verbal context, which comprises everything that has been said (or written) before and after the expression under examination. (By expression I mean any stretch of analysed text, from an item to a full sentence.) The length of a context required for the analysis will depend on information needed. The other type of context is the context of situation in which the verbal context takes place. It will be 'held to include, not only the relevant objects and actions taking place at the time, but also the knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer of all the relevant conventions, beliefs and presuppositions 'taken for granted' by the members of the speech community to which the speaker and hearer belong.' (Lyons, 1968a:413). Therefore, we can conclude that the context of situation should be regarded as including the verbal context, i. e. that the verbal context is dependent on the context of situation.

It will be in order here to mention the concepts of culture and cultural overlap. In the analysis of semantic fields, culture is taken as implicit in the vocabulary and the texts analysed. And, indeed, it has been repeatedly stressed by both linguists and anthropologists that a satisfactory language analysis should include the analysis of culture of the speech community to the extent that it accounts for the cultural influence on the selection and formation of the structure of the vocabulary. In this study the culture of the two countries is accounted for by way of the context of situation.

Before going on to explain the term 'application', one more

concept should be defined, and that is the concept of the use of an expression. Wittgenstein (1953) quite justifiably proclaims that the meaning of an expression is its use. This claim seems justifiable simply because we are not at present able to examine what the psychological implications may be. To look for the use of an expression in order to find its meaning is the most straightforward and the most reliable way, at least at present.

Application is employed by Lyons to mean the occurrence of a particular expression in a particular context. Application is also the relation of reference (where such a relationship holds, i. e. if an item has a referent). The term is also employed to indicate 'the relation (...) between elements of the language, and such features as relative location in space and time, status of one participant with respect to another, etc.' (1963:55) It follows, from what has been said above in connection with reference, that I shall be concerned with the first and the third of the uses of the term 'application'.

It comes to be a very useful term if we consider a further point that Lyons makes: 'When items of different languages can be put into correspondence with one another on the basis of the identification of common features and situations in the cultures in which they operate we may say that items have the same application.' (1968a:434) This leads us a step further towards a hypothesis that we can regard translation of items as their interchangeability based on the correspondences found between them in their respective contexts and cultures. We can say that the sameness of message is the criterion of applicability (or 'translateability') of the items in question. In other words, if the message is the same, two (or more) items across languages can be said to be synonymous in terms of their application. By employing the term 'message' here I follow Roman Jakobson (1959).

We can, therefore, conclude that such notions as synonymy, antonymy, etc., can be appropriately used not only within one language, but also across languages. So, for example, we say that one or more items of a language are synonymous with one or more items in another language if by translating them we find that the message has remained the same.

e. Implication, equivalence, consequence and causation will be regarded as implicit in the componential analysis. Their definition is the one given in Lyons (1963). They, of course, presuppose the notions of assertion and denial on the part of the native speaker, and they are presupposed in such relations as synonymy, hyponymy, and so on.

Concerning the syntagmatic vs. paradigmatic relations, this study will be mainly in the direction of closely following the paradigmatic patterning within the vocabulary, and the syntagmatic only in so far as it influences their substitutability. By this I do not wish to imply that either of them is prior, but simply that the nature of the analysis makes a greater use of one than the other.

There is no great need nowadays to stress the importance of validating one's conclusions in semantics and, to be sure, in any other kind of language analysis, since it has been repeatedly discussed and recognized in the past. I claim that the present work satisfies the conditions of both operational and material adequacy as outlined in Lyons (1963). Working with verbal contexts provides an empirically testable analysis. By checking the native speakers' intuition about the substitution of items, I have reached the material adequacy required. The native speaker's judgement of acceptability (the notion put forward by Chomsky (1965a:11)) will provide the framework for the substitution of items. If we take for granted that there is a distinction between competence and performance, I wish to regard intuition as part of a native speaker's competence rather than his performance.

Finally, a few words ought to be said as to the standpoint taken in this work regarding the position of semantics within generative transformational grammar. Various models of linguistic description have been proposed, starting with Chomsky's Syntactic Structures in 1957. Although Chomsky himself modified his view in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax and explicitly included semantics in grammar, the role of the semantic component was not discussed in great detail. In recent work, the question has arisen whether to regard semantics as 'generative' or 'interpretive', i. e. as generating semantic representations which are converted into sentences by the syntactic rules or as assigning semantic interpretations to sentences generated by the syntax. In this connection there have been various suggestions, from that of Katz and Fodor (1963) and Katz and Postal (1964) for the 'integration' of syntax and semantics by way of projection rules, to the recent approaches of Fillmore (1968a-b), McCawley (1968), Boyd and Thorne (1969), Leech (1969), and others.

Fillmore claims that semantics (certainly the semantic interpretation of cases) deserves its place in the base component of a transformational grammar and points out that Chomsky himself recognized the fact that before some stylistic transformations, such as those involved in preposing the object noun-phrase in 'Him I like', there ought to be a rule assigning case distinctions to the pronouns. McCawley bases his approach on Weinreich's model (1966), which is a modification of that of Katz and Fodor. Here the stress is certainly on the fairly independent role of semantics within the grammar of a language. The grammar is conceived as a set of rules which 'convert semantic representation through various intermediate stages into surface syntactic representation'.  
(1968:167)

However, the issue is still uncertain. The question of ordering such rules, and of the form they would have to take, is far from



clear. Moreover, it is not at all clear whether these are to be envisaged as two different kinds of rules (which presupposes the examination of the nature of both semantic and syntactic description). The results so far obtained in generative semantics are certainly very significant, but still not sufficient. It still remains to be empirically proved, it seems to me, whether we can talk about semantic representations being mapped into surface structure syntactic representations, or, conversely, of syntactic representations being mapped into (i. e. interpreted by) semantic representation. What seems interesting at present is that it has been found out that some features that have been regarded as syntactic can be interpreted on semantic basis. This certainly goes towards the assumption that semantics determines syntax; and this is part of the generative semanticist's thesis. In this respect, what McCawley (1968) and Boyd and Thorne (1969) have to say is most revealing. Because of this uncertainty (which stems from the fact that there are still unexplored parts of language), I will assume that this analysis is based on an adequate syntactic description. I believe that the substantive points made in this dissertation are unaffected by current controversies centring upon the integration of semantics and syntax.

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The main aim of this study is to capture the major correspondences and differences of the verbs of knowledge and understanding in Serbo-Croat and English. A further aim, resulting from this, is to provide, in the form of distinctive features, a system of underlying principles which could be followed in the translation of these lexemes from one language into the other. It is hoped that this system of distinctive features will contribute, not only towards a more adequate, but also towards a more varied

translation of the verbs of this semantic field.

The analysis has been conducted on the basis of information obtained from a number of people. The assumption is that the information is correct. In certain particular instances this assumption may be at fault. Nevertheless, it should hold generally; and this study will, it is hoped, serve as a step (however small) towards the opening of new areas of research in semantics, so far one of the least studied branches of linguistics.

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I am extremely grateful to Professor John Lyons and Professor Dennis Ward for their many constructive and invaluable comments constantly given in supervising the work. Also I am indebted to my parents, Peter Trudgill, Anthony Warner, Jane Bryan-Jones and many other friends and colleagues who patiently acted as my informants. Special thanks are due to Patrick Griffiths for reading and commenting on some sections of the rough draft, and to Keith Yarwood for careful proof-reading. Finally, I would like to thank Arne Foldvik for making his typewriter available to me at any time.



## CHAPTER ONE

### MATERIAL USED, INFORMANTS, PROCEDURES and METHOD APPLIED by THEM, and METHOD of RESEARCH

#### 1.1 Material Used

For the purpose of this thesis it was important to choose as the principal source of material a text which would provide a large number of contexts containing the verbs under analysis. It was also important to find a text which would ensure as much variety as possible in the range of each verb. For both these reasons it seemed appropriate to select a literary work, and, more specifically, a novel, rather than a philosophical or a critical text. Also, since the concern was solely with modern languages, the choice was made between novels written within the period of the last 25 years. A further objective within this range was one of finding a novel of a 'meditative' type (i. e. one which is mostly concerned with psychological aspects of life, involving thoughts, analysis of situations, etc.) rather than a 'descriptive type' (mainly concerned with action of its characters).

From the outset this research was meant to have a contrastive character, bringing into focus two languages: Serbo-Croat and English. It was, therefore, necessary to select a Serbo-Croat, and an English novel of the desired type. Preferably, each of these novels was to have translations into the other language. As a result the choice was greater among English novels, since the number of translations from English into Serbo-Croat was greater.

The choice fell on Joyce Cary's 'To Be a Pilgrim' which was translated into Serbo-Croat by Dr. Svetozar Koljević, Professor at the Department of English language and literature at Sarajevo University, and Naum Dimitrijević, lecturer at the Department

of English at the University of Belgrade. It was published by 'Svjetlost', Sarajevo, in 1962.

This novel provided over one thousand six hundred relevant contexts, and over one thousand eight hundred examples of the relevant words (some contexts contained a given word more than once).

The Serbo-Croat novel chosen was less profitable for the purpose of the research. There are only a few novels from the post-war period which have been translated into English. The one finally chosen is a war-novel (about a battle between a group of partisans, on the one hand, and Germans and quislings during World War II), full of action, decisions and movement, allowing less time and space for thought. The title of the original is 'Daleko je sunce' (translated as 'Far Away Is The Sun'). The author is Dobrica Ćosić. It was translated into English by Muriel Heppell and Milica Mihajlović, and published by 'Jugoslavija', Belgrade, in 1963.

This text provided over five hundred contexts, with about eight hundred examples of the chosen words. Although the smaller number of contexts in the Serbo-Croat novel would not necessarily have been of great importance, the words for knowledge and understanding seem to have a considerably narrower range than they do in the English novel. To compensate for the lack of variety, and also for the fact that certain words do not occur at all, it was thought desirable to turn to current newspapers and literary magazines, in search for modern short stories preoccupied with the psychology of man in modern times, or even for critical works and historical articles which promised interesting uses of the relevant items. In spite of the fact that one could not hope to find an official translation for all these texts, this step proved to be fruitful, since it resulted in about one hundred interesting contexts. Additional material

which amounted to about eighty sentences, was drawn from Milka Ivić's book 'Pravci u lingvistici' (Trends in Linguistics), published by Državna Založba Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1963, (translated by Muriel Heppell, and published by Mouton).

Altogether, therefore, I have considered about two thousand and three hundred contexts, and more than two thousand and seven hundred examples of relevant verbs.

It is interesting, and also important to note the obvious fact that the choice of material almost inevitably excluded some and included other words of this semantic field. The language of a literary critic varies considerably from that of a novelist or a newspaper reporter. The style of a dialogue differs in precision as well as in the choice of words from the style of a passage in which linguistic (or any other) events are being enumerated. For example, the Serbo-Croat verbs spoznati ('realize'), or pojmiti ('grasp') are very unlikely to occur in the dialogue of a novel, unless the dialogue is of a fairly sophisticated nature. Although this question of registers\* is extremely important and cannot be wholly disregarded in a semantic study of a language, we shall not be able to go into it in detail. The analysis of the vocabulary of knowledge and understanding is complex enough without complicating it further by attempting to deal with differences of register.

1.1.1 The following is a list of references and their abbreviations.

Serbo-Croat

DS = 'Daleko je sunce' by Dobrica Ćosić

Published by 'Prosveta', Beograd, 1955.

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\* According to Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens (1964: 87-94) a register is a variety of language according to use (as opposed to users).

Tr. by Muriel Heppell and Milica Mihajlović, published by 'Jugoslavija', Belgrade, 1963.

NIN = 'Nedeljne Informativne Novine', No. 1021, 2nd August, 1970.

From Odjek 15 - 16, Sarajevo, 1970:

OF = 'Filozofija i kritička teorija' by Herbert Markure.

OFI = 'Fijasko' by Anastazija Šubić.

OI = 'Impresije o muzičkom životu Sarajeva' by Eugene and Toby Glickman, tr. by Dr. Midhat Ridjanović.

OJ = 'Jezik i književno djelo' by Zdenko Lešić.

OJN = 'Jedan lik naše putopisne literature' by Ljubomir Cvijić.

OK = 'Refleksije o naciji' by Arif Tanović.

OKJ = 'Kontekst Jugoslavija-Evropa' by Mitar Miljanović.

OMZ = 'Muzički život Dubrovnika u XVIII stoljeću' by Fatima Hadžović.

OSP = 'Osjećanje praznine u sauremenom čovjeku' by Dr. Zijo Čatović.

OSS = 'Loše vrijeme za liriku' by Zeina Mehmedbašić.

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PL = 'Pravci u lingvistici' by Milka Ivić, published by Državna Založba Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1963. Tr. by Muriel Heppell, published by Mouton, The Hague.

PW = 'Pavilion of Women' by Pearl S. Buck, tr. to Serbo-Croat by Nenad Jovanović, published by Matica Srpska, 1967.

From Život 9, year XVIII, Sarajevo, Sept. 1969:

ZIN = 'Između neutemeljenosti i proizvoljnosti' by Risto Trifković.

ZJ = 'Jedan trenutak radio-drame' by Slavko Šantić.

ZKN = 'Književne impresije Novice Petkovića' by Nenad Radanović.

ZL = 'Lenjinove ideje o umjetnosti i literaturi, socijalistički realizm' by Muhamed Filipović.

ZMS = 'Mene zlatne vatre' by Ratko Orozović.

- ZPS = 'Pismo svom tvorcu' by Ranko Risojević.  
 ZS = 'Šta se dopadalo Lenjinu iz lepe književnosti' by  
 N.K. Krupska, tr. by Dragiša Živković.  
 ZSO = 'Samo-odbrana poezije' by Mila Stojnić.  
 ZT = 'Treća priča' by Mile Pećanac..

#### English

- AG = 'African Genesis' by Robert Ardrey, Collins, London,  
 1961.  
 P = 'To be a Pilgrim' by Joyce Cary, published by Michael  
 Joseph Ltd., London, 1953. Tr. by Dr. S. Koljević  
 and N. Dimitrijević, published by 'Svjetlost', Sarajevo,  
 1962.

#### 1.2. Informants

One of the main tasks in the analysis of this semantic field was to establish the semantic relationships between the verbs of the field in each language, and then to examine those between the corresponding groups in both languages.

To perform this analysis it was necessary to find informants (i. e. native speakers) who would, on the basis of their intuition about their language, indicate as far as they could, the possibilities and impossibilities of substitution between the items of this semantic field in their language. What is meant by 'substitution' in this context is explained in the following section.

English speaking informants were chosen who spoke the variety of the language which was most familiar to me: i. e. English as spoken in England, rather than Scottish English, American English or some other variety. Of the two informants, each of whom went through approximately half the English material, one came from the South of England and the other from East Anglia.

The same criterion was applied in the choice of Serbo-Croat

informants. I myself went through the whole of the Serbo-Croat material, and then asked my parents to do the same. I thought it best to remain within the boundaries of my own dialect, spoken in Bosnia.\*

Most of the informants that were consulted had received a university education (6 out of 8). Three of them had been trained in linguistics. In order to lessen the risk that their judgement would be affected by their linguistic prejudices and presuppositions about syntactic and semantic equivalence, I asked them to go through the data as fast as they could, without stopping to think about any particular substitution.

No doubt, if this research had been done with the help of a very large number of native speakers, it would have been so much the better. It would have probably made certain things clearer. But it would also have brought about a vast number of differences in use between any two informants. Even in this relatively small group the differences were sometimes quite striking. It, therefore, seemed best to take all obtained alternatives as valid, and to assume that a larger variety was certainly possible.

### 1.3 Procedures and Method Applied by Informants

The procedure was to present the informant with the contexts and ask him to substitute other words of the group for the original ones. The substitution was conducted between items of the given part of speech, i. e. verbs, although it was obviously possible, quite frequently, to exchange the items belonging to different parts of speech, provided that one made consequential syntactic changes in the sentence.

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\*Bosnia is the northern part of the Republic called Bosnia and Herzegovina, situated in the central part of Yugoslavia.



The term 'substitution' has been used in the past to refer to several different kinds of criteria for language description. Bar-Hillel (1964) stresses the need of disambiguation of this term in linguistic research: 'Oculist and dentist are SUBSTITUTABLE in the sense that any sentence containing the one will turn into a sentence (not necessarily a sentence with the same meaning or even with the same truth-value) when this is replaced by the other. Oculist and eye-doctor are substitutable in the sense that any sentence containing the one will turn into a sentence with necessarily the same truth-value when this is replaced by the other. For both these essentially different relations the term SUBSTITUTABLE (or REPLACEABLE, or COMMUTABLE or even EQUIVALENT) is used indifferently, more often than not, without even a qualifying adverbial. A consistent use of qualifiers like DISTRIBUTIONALLY and LOGICALLY (...) could assist in avoiding the pitfalls connected with this equivocation; but a convention to use, say, COMMUTABLE for the first sense and INTERCHANGEABLE for the second, would be even better.' (1964:42)

The term 'substitution' will in this study be used synonymously with 'interchangeability' suggested by Bar-Hillel, i. e. it will be used to mean replacing the items of the semantic field with the view of keeping the meaning of the contexts in which they are replaced constant. Subtle shades of meaning are disregarded provided that the informant agrees that there is no gross semantic difference between two items in a context. This precaution had to be taken since, as we know, it is often possible to substitute two words in the same context but with the result of changing the meaning. A simple example is (1a-b):

1. (a) I see him.
- (b) I understand him.

where the substitution of see and understand leads to the complete change of meaning of the context.

On the other hand, in (2a-b) the difference of meaning is slight, or,

perhaps, for some native speakers, non-existent.

2.(a) I understand him.

(b) I comprehend him.

Generally, if the informant had any doubt about substitutability, regardless of whether this doubt had to do with the semantic equivalence of the words or the grammatical acceptability of the sentence, he was instructed to regard the substitution as impossible.

#### 1.4. Method of Research

It will be remembered from above that, apart from analysing this semantic field of each language in turn, the task was to contrast the two languages.

In order to obtain similar contexts for both languages, so as to make the contrastive analysis more straightforward, one Serbo-Croat and one English speaker was asked to substitute the given verbs in contexts taken from the translations of the novels as well as in contexts from the originals. This way of organizing the work not only simplified the analysis, but it also increased the number of available contexts for each language.

The method of research was then to go from context to context trying to establish the most probable reason which led the informants to allow for substitution of some items and not of others. All the contexts at hand were examined, and it was mostly through looking at impossible substitutions\* that the main differences between items were discovered. For example, one of the differences between the two verbs in (1a-b) is that see has a visual aspect, as well as the mental one, and depending on the kind of object it takes (whether concrete or abstract), its characteristics are either visual or mental.

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\*As already mentioned above, substitutions were regarded as impossible if they would cause the change of meaning of the context.



Admittedly, not all substitutions were 'impossible' because of the change in meaning. Some were rejected on various other grounds, in particular that of sentence construction. For example, it is a fact that some verbs are not normally used in the imperative. In some cases a general account can be given in terms of the syntactic or semantic classification of the verb in question, but in some others it may indicate a peculiarity of the verb itself<sup>\*</sup>. For instance, the English verb know does not occur in imperative constructions of the type V + that + Sentence<sup>\*\*</sup>, whereas the Serbo-Croat znati, its closest equivalent, does. That is to say, the sentence 'Know that I will come' (meaning roughly 'Be sure that I will come') is quite possible in Serbo-Croat. The reverse holds true for the V + Object construction. In Serbo-Croat 'Know your neighbour better' would be expressed with the verb upoznati ('get to know'), which is, of course, another possibility for English.

Dealing with lexemes of an abstract nature and contrasting them within a semantic field, one is faced with the problem of how to establish features so that they provide a reliable and convincing distinction between the terms. Unlike, for example, the semantic field of kinship terms, in the analysis of the verbs of knowledge and understanding one is not directly faced with obvious distinctions which are valid for the semantic analysis. That is, with kinship terms, even without looking at the contexts in which they occur, one may be fairly confident that, for example, the feature /Generation/<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

\* This was brought to my attention by Professor J. Lyons.

\*\* Although it may do in V + Object (as in 'Know your neighbour better ...').

We shall again take this up briefly in Chapter IV.

\*\*\* Throughout the work slashes will be used to bracket the established features.

is relevant, the same with the feature /Sex/, and so on. The two semantic fields, therefore, inevitably pose different problems. Unlike kinship terms, the verbs of knowledge and understanding require a closer look at the contexts in which they occur. One of the very few features that could be 'predicted', as it were, is the feature /Factivity/. The verbs of the group can be checked for it without any reference to the contexts. The 'predictability' of this particular feature arises from the sole nature of the field as an expression of the enquiry into truth or falsity of our knowledge.

It seems, therefore, important to stress that the objectivity of the selected features can only be confirmed by referring to all the contexts in which a certain lexeme appears. This does not mean that the number of contexts is indefinite. Rather, we can say that each lexeme has a pattern of occurrence which is limited and repeated throughout the language. Depending on the number of senses which can be discerned in a lexeme, the pattern varies in complexity.

But to analyse a semantic field in terms of components does not only mean to try and find out how many different senses are recognizable in a lexical item. The importance of the task lies, it seems to me, in the fact that the features themselves are a hard core of universal properties underlying the relationships of lexical items. This is why we should sharply distinguish between a dictionary definition and a feature. For example, the feature /Factivity/ is not a dictionary definition; rather, it accounts for <sup>a</sup>more general, underlying property shared by the items of a semantic field. Features are not meant to be ready definitions. They are elements of meaning which influence interchangeability of items. A dictionary definition implies a whole set of distinctive features.

Since I was in this work primarily concerned with contrasting two languages within a semantic field, it was important for me to find

a means of accounting for the data by the same set of features. For purposes of contrasting them, it is, obviously, impossible to work with two different sets of features previously established for both languages. The working principle is that equivalents (or near-equivalents) must have a similar underlying pattern of semantic features in order to be substitutable.

Looking at the material, it has become obvious that, in order to analyse and contrast these verbs by binary distinctions, one would come up against innumerable problems of how to account for very small details, and reasons of non-occurrence of items in contexts. Not only would it be a tedious job, but an unnecessary and misleading one. In these terms generalization of any sort would be inconceivable.

It has also become evident that two verbs need not both be positively specified for a certain feature to occur in the same context. In other words, it does not seem justifiable to argue that the substitutability in the same context ensures that two verbs have a feature in common. For example, one could not prove that know and realize share the feature /Importance/ (discussed in Chapter V, pp. 116-21) in the following example:

3. I know/realize that he is coming.

The only satisfactory solution seems to be (since it is obviously untrue to assign /-Importance/ to know) to state that, while realize is positively specified, know is unspecified for this feature.

It, therefore, seems necessary to introduce zero specification as the third value in this componential analysis.

The ternary nature of the analysis corresponds roughly to the interpretation that the native speaker would give, if asked to choose between two items in the same context. Although they may be very near in meaning otherwise, he would very often reject one of them as being 'too strong', or 'too weak' to be applied in a particular context of

situation.

1.4.1 The verbs chosen for this analysis (56 altogether, including three that will only be glanced at - here listed in brackets) are:

Serbo-Croat	English
biti jasno	be able
biti sposoban	be aware
biti svjestan	be capable
biti u stanju	be clear
čuti	be conscious
doznati	believe
misliti	can
moći	conceive
opaziti	comprehend
osjetiti	discover
otkriti	feel
pojmiti	find out
poznavati	get to know
prepoznati	grasp
primijetiti	hear
razumjeti	know (how)
saznati	learn
shvatiti	make out
spoznati	notice
(studirati)	perceive
učiti	realize
umjeti	recognize
uočiti	see
upoznati	(study)
uvidjeti	(teach)
vidjeti	think
vjerovati	understand
zapaziti	
znati	

1.5 In this study we shall be concerned with two basic kinds of features: NON-CONTEXTUAL and CONTEXTUAL (or inherent and substitutability features). Non-contextual (inherent) features are those that the verbs can share regardless of whether they can ever appear in the same context. These features are, in fact, restrictions of a more general nature, accounting for properties of verbs without saying anything about their substitutability\* in the same context. In fact, two verbs can share a non-contextual feature without being substitutable for each other in any context. In other words, we are dealing here with features of the type that would be relevant in the analysis of any semantic field the objective of which is not to account for mutual interchangeability of items. However, although these features themselves do not guarantee substitutability on the basis of sameness of meaning, they impose certain restrictions in a fundamental and significant way. If a verb is positively marked for a certain non-contextual feature its range of use in contexts will always be limited by the restrictions imposed by that feature. (For convenience, the examples will be given in the discussion of each particular feature. At the same time an attempt will also be made to define them.)

Contextual (substitutability) features, on the other hand, determine the context in which items (in this case verbs) occur. That is to say, they specify the requirements of a verb with respect to a context, and so further delimit its substitutability.

Together, these two kinds of features account for quite a number of significant restrictions, eventually forming a description, or partial analysis, of each verb.

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\* As above, (see p. 7 ), and throughout this work, substitutability will mean interchangeability of items on the basis of sameness of meaning.

It will be seen that most substitutability features are also inherent for some of the verbs substitutable in a particular context.

Notice that I am talking about the lexemes that constitute one particular semantic field. In some other semantic field they need not have the same positive specifications. E.g. the verb to hear is, in this semantic field, negatively specified in relation to the feature /Direct information/, whereas it has different characteristics in the 'acoustic' field.

Of necessity, this study will be limited only to those features that have been found significant within the chosen material, possibly leaving quite a few important features unrevealed.

Throughout the work the sign '+' will stand for inherent features, the sign '-' for negative specifications, and the sign 'O' for unspecified.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PRESUPPOSITION

#### 2.1 The Concept of Presupposition

Presupposition has only recently attracted the attention of linguists to any considerable extent. Previously it has been mainly discussed in philosophical works.

Philosophers like Frege and Strawson placed presupposition in a logical framework accounting for it in terms of truth and falsity of propositions. More specifically, they were concerned to establish the truth values of X and Y in a presupposition formula 'X presupposes Y', i. e. X presupposes the truth of Y (Cf. Garner, 1971:27). They considered the effects of a presupposition failure, and accounted for it in various ways. Strawson, for example, produced several instances of a presupposition failure of which I will mention but two: 1. (a) If someone tells us 'There is not a single foreign book in his room', it is presupposed that there are some books in the room. But if we find out later that there are no books in the room we will conclude not that we have been told a lie, but, as Strawson puts it, that the person who pronounced the sentence 1. (a) 'has misled us'. And he goes on to say that for truth or falsity of 1. (a) 'it is necessary (though not sufficient) that there should be books in the room'. (1952:178)

Another of his examples is 1. (b): If we are told: 'All John's children are asleep' we will assume that John has children. But if we discover afterwards that John has no children, we shall be left feeling 'misled', but not that we have been told a lie. Therefore (if 'John's children' is represented by S and 'asleep' by P and put in the form 'all S are P'), according to Strawson, the statement 'all S are P' will be true if there are no S that are not P, and false if



there is an S which is not P. It cannot be true or false if there are no S at all. (1952:195)

Philosophers are also concerned, as Garner points out (1971:35-42), with the illocutionary force of the sentence. This term was employed by Austin (1962) to indicate that one and the same sentence can be intended by the speaker to mean and presuppose different things, depending on the moment and situation of utterance. So that, for instance, a sentence like 2. 'Why don't you go?' can be intended to have different interpretations, depending on whether the speaker wants the addressee to go, or whether the addressee himself had previously expressed a wish to do so and the speaker is agreeable.

If a sentence can be uttered with varying illocutionary force it can be used to make a variety of illocutionary acts: e.g. to issue a command, ask a question, make a statement, a supposition, a prediction, etc.

Some linguists have also introduced the notion of illocutionary force in their linguistic discussions. Fillmore, for example, would like to distinguish between the presuppositional and the illocutionary aspect of speech communication (1971:276). The presuppositional aspect, according to him, has to take account of all necessary conditions for an illocutionary act to take place. It is, he also stresses, important to note the relationship between the structure of a particular sentence and the presuppositions attached to it. The utterance of an imperative sentence (like: Please, shut/don't shut the door) presupposes, among other things, a certain kind of relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

2.1.1 From what has been said above we can draw a distinction between the assertion of a sentence and its presupposition or presuppositions (see P. & C. Kiparsky 1970:147). By an assertion



we mean that which a speaker expresses by uttering a sentence. By a presupposition we mean, for example, his belief and assumption that what he is expressing is true. To illustrate the distinction just drawn, we give the following example: by saying 'John is sad' the speaker is asserting the fact of John's sadness, but he is presupposing that John exists.

We shall see later that what has come to be called factivity (P. & C. Kiparsky, 1970) is not the only type of presupposition that we might wish to consider. There are other presuppositions of highly specific kind, or of a much narrower range. For instance, the sentence 'Don't you like your new flat?' presupposes not only that the addressee has just moved into a new flat, but also that he has expressed some dislike about it. Since this involves more closely the discussion of semantic features appertaining to the semantic field of knowledge and understanding, we shall leave its further elaboration to later sections.

## 2.2 Kinds of Presupposition

Having established what the concept of presupposition involves, we would further like to consider several different kinds of presupposition. Within a philosophical framework we have seen that the distinction can be drawn between what various philosophers considered to be the result of a presupposition failure\*.

But we can also draw the distinction with respect to who or what is doing the presupposing.

In his article on presupposition, Keenan (1971:45-51) discusses

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\* Above, we have only mentioned Strawson's approach but other philosophers account for it in similar terms. Frege states that in cases of a presupposition failure 'no act is performed or no object is produced' (see: Garner, 1971:347).

two kinds of presupposition: logical and pragmatic. The first is defined in terms of truth and logical consequence, the truth being conceived of 'as a relation between a sentence, considered as a syntactic object and the world (model, interpretation)' (1971:45). A sentence is considered to be a consequence of a set of sentences if it is true under all conditions under which this set of sentences is true, in which case it is also logically implied by this set of sentences. In this framework, presupposition is defined in terms of implication so that S presupposes S 'only if S and also its negation NS imply S'.

Keenan points out that 'the logical notion of presupposition is defined solely in terms of abstract sentences and the world. Whether anyone actually utters or believes some sentences has nothing to do with whether the sentence makes a particular logical presupposition.' (1971:48)

The pragmatic kind of presupposition, according to Keenan, has to do with an utterance, that is actually uttered by the speaker on some particular occasion, and with its relationship with the contextual conditions that justify the speaker in using it. The contextual conditions must take into account all the individuals that participate in the speech act and also the physical and cultural setting in which the speech act is being performed. These contextual conditions are called presuppositions of the speech act. In any particular language there may prove to be a complex network of criteria, involving, to quote Keenan '(a) status and kind of relations among the participants: (b) age, sex, and generation relations among the participants: (c) status, kin, age, sex, and generation relations between participants and individuals mentioned in the sentence: (d) presence or absence of certain objects in the physical setting of the utterance: and (e) relative location of participants and items mentioned in the sentence itself.' (1971:49)

Keenan enumerates examples from various languages to illustrate this point. For instance, he quotes Mary Haas's example (1964) of the Louisiana Indian language, Koasati, where the utterance of LAKAWATAKKAS (I am not lifting it) presupposes that the speaker is a man, and LAKAWATAKKO, that the speaker is a woman.

Therefore, this pragmatic kind of presupposition operates on the relevant relationships of an utterance within a context, and the context itself, which here comprises primarily individuals involved in the speech act, reflecting their status, cultural background, and so forth, on the utterance itself.

Again, this kind of presupposition, like the logical one above, does not take into account the belief or assumption of the speaker with respect to the truth of the sentence he has uttered. To this, third, kind of presupposition, we shall turn shortly, in the next section.

It is, however, convenient at this point to redefine the notion of the context of situation (as presented in the Introduction) in terms of the concept of presupposition. It is obvious, from what has been said, that both logical and pragmatic presuppositions constitute a very important part of the context of situation, namely that part which renders the use of an utterance justifiable and 'appropriate' (to use Keenan's term) on a particular occasion\*. The context of situation in its broader sense may involve additional cultural factors of non-presuppositional character which, for example, in a literal translation from one language to another, can result in misinformation rather than break-down of communication. One example is the convention for numbering the floors or storeys of a building in American English. If there happened to be a translation into Serbo-Croat of a text containing the expression 'first floor' translated

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\* It is worth noting here that Firth's notion of context of situation (1957) lends itself, in part, to interpretation in terms of pragmatic presupposition.

literally, the Serbo-Croat reader, unaware of the difference in the numbering convention, would be misinformed, since for him the first floor is not the ground floor, but the floor above the ground floor.

In this work I wish to talk mainly about that part of the context of situation which involves presupposition since it is presuppositional factors of this kind which are relevant to analysing the use, or meaning, of many items in the vocabulary of knowledge and understanding. It is moreover presuppositions of a different kind from those discussed by Keenan with which we shall be primarily concerned: presuppositions which account for the speaker's belief or assumption with respect to the truth of what he is expressing. This question is the object of a more detailed discussion in the following sections.

#### 2.2.1 A Third Kind of Presupposition

This, third, kind of presupposition was discussed by Paul and Carol Kiparsky in their article on 'Fact' (1970:143-171). They showed that there is a class of what they call factive verbs in English and that the use of one of these verbs as the main verb of a sentence committed the speaker to a belief in the truth of what was expressed by the complement of the factive verb. They further showed that the syntactic behaviour of factive verbs was in various ways different from that of non-factive verbs.

The term factive, therefore, refers to those verbs the use of which commits the speaker to the belief that what he is saying is true. The converse term, non-factive, applies to the verbs which do not commit the speaker to any such belief. (The term 'verb' is used by the Kiparskys to refer to both verbs and adjectives. The term 'complement' is also used somewhat broadly to refer to what in their view would be deep structure complements, although they may appear as surface structure subjects.)

The Kiparskys give several examples to show how the truth or falsity of what is expressed in the complements depends upon the belief of the speaker. I shall mention but three:

1. Only factive verbs allow 'the full range'<sup>\*</sup> of gerundial constructions, and gerunds as objects. For example:

3.(a) His being found guilty astonished me.

(b)\*His being found guilty was likely.

4.(a) I resented Susan eating the cake.

(b)\*I believe Susan eating the cake.

2. Only non-factive<sup>\*\*</sup> verbs allow the noun phrase of the complement clause to be converted into the subject of the main clause. For example:

5.(a) It is likely that we'll be there in time.

(b) We are likely to be there in time.

(c)\*We are significant to be there in time.

3. Only non-factive verbs allow the 'accusative-plus-infinitive' construction. For instance:

6.(a) I believed Susan to have gone.

(b)\*I regretted Susan to have gone.

Notice that not all non-factive verbs take the accusative plus infinitive construction. Those that naturally come first to mind are the non-factive verbs belonging to the semantic field of knowledge and understanding. Two that can be readily produced are think and hear (the latter of which, as we shall see later, is non-factive only in certain constructions). So that (6. a) is acceptable, but (7a-b) are not:

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\* Notice that some non-factives take gerunds. To take Lj. Bibović's example from the article discussed below: She dreaded his having another heart-attack.

\*\* Notice that 'non-factive' is here being used as the complement of 'factive' and not, as by Karttunen, for a more specific subclass (discussed on pp. 28-31).

7. (a)\* I thought Susan to have gone.

(b)\* I heard Susan to have gone.

2.2.2 One of the criteria for establishing presuppositions, according to the Kiparskys, is that they should remain unchanged under a negation. Consider the following examples:

8. (a) I regretted that I had gone to the party.

(b) I didn't regret that I had gone to the party.

where in both cases the speaker's presupposition expressed by: I went to the party, has remained unchanged.

One way to establish the factivity of a verb (i. e. whether it presupposes the truth of its complement) is to conjoin a clause containing it with a 'but-clause' denying the presupposition. For example:

9. (a)\* I knew that he had gone, but he hadn't.

(b) I heard that he had gone, but he hadn't.

(c)\* It was clear to me that he had gone, but he hadn't.

(d) I thought that he had gone, but he hadn't.

where the anomaly of (9a) and (9c) reflects the factivity of know and be clear.

2.2.3 There is a point of interpretation in the Kiparsky's article (1970:148) which may be mentioned here. They merely state that factives like realize are not acceptable in the first person<sup>neg</sup>. There is, however, more to it than that. And this is where other presuppositions apart from factivity come into focus. We can account for the anomaly arising when realize is used in First Person Sing/Pl Negative, present and future, by positing the highly specific presupposition of the speaker when he uses this verb in a sentence that he was in possession of the knowledge upon which he is commenting before the time of his utterance. The Kiparskys do mention the crucial fact that the negative of present and future first person sing/pl renders the use of realize



unacceptable. There is, of course, nothing anomalous about 'I realize that I am late'.

But since we are going to return to this question in more detail later, with necessary examples, I will say no more about it here.

2.2.4 One further point of interest in the Kiparskys' article (1970:167) is their assumption that there is a syntactic and semantic correspondence between truth and specific reference. They gave the following examples:

10. (a) I ignored an ant on my plate.

(b) I imagined an ant on my plate.

where the factive verb ignore presupposes a specific object of reference (in this case: an ant), and the non-factive one does not.

While this argument seems to be quite plausible, it is probably more open to dispute whether the non-equivalence of the well-known pair

11. (a) Everyone in this room speaks two languages  
and (b) Two languages are spoken by everyone in  
this room

can be explained in terms of indefinite noun phrases which, when placed initially refer to a specific object. Since, for some speakers at least, if they said (11b) it would not be unacceptable for them to go on and say: Some speak French and German, and some Spanish and Italian. This last question, however, does not concern us here to any greater degree.

2.2.5 A Yugoslav linguist, Ljiljana Bibović, has in her article 'Some Remarks on the Factive and Non-Factive Complements in English and Serbo-Croatian' (1971) drawn interesting distinctions between the two languages, with reference to the Kiparskys' article.

Four points are particularly worth mentioning:

1. While in English that-clauses can be employed both with



factives and non-factives, Serbo-Croat distinguishes between *da*-clauses (with non-factives), and *što*-clauses (with factives). Moreover, only emotive factives (see Kiparskys, 1970:169) allow *što*-complementizers (which, as will be shown later, is not entirely correct). The following examples were given:

Factives:

Emotive

12. (a) E It is extremely odd that nobody is interested in the problem.

SC Pravo je čudo što nikoga ne zanima taj problem.

(b) E She regrets that some people were unable to come.

SC Žao joj je što neki ljudi nisu mogli da dodju.

Non-Emotive

13. E She is aware that some people were unable to come.

SC Svesna je toga da neki ljudi nisu mogli da dodju.

Non-Factives:

14. (a) E I believe that John is ill.

SC Verujem da je Jovan bolestan.

(b) E I think that he will come.

SC Mislim da će doći.

2. The *što*-clauses are never equivalent to the English 'accusative-plus-infinitive' construction, which, as Lj. Bibović points out, 'is due to the fact observed by the Kiparskys that the accusative-with-infinitive construction (...) is possible only with non-factive complements'\*.  
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\* but, as we have seen, not with all non-factives either.

3. Bibović argues that, like the English know and realize,<sup>\*</sup> the SC znati and shvatiti are also semantically factive and syntactically non-factive. The only examples that she gives for syntactic non-factivity of these verbs are the ones below, which show that her criterion was her argument (1971:38-39) that factive verbs do not take da-clauses:

15. (a) E I know that John is ill.

SC Znam da je Jovan bolestan.

(b) E I realize that the difficulties are enormous.

SC Shvatam da su teškoće ogromne.

However, her further discussion of emotive and non-emotive factives (1971:45) refutes this hypothesis since she states that only emotive factives in Serbo-Croat take što-clauses. In which case it can be reasonably argued that znati and shvatiti ARE non-emotives and therefore may be expected to take the da-clause complement. If, therefore, this is the only basis for the assumption that the SC verbs are syntactically non-factive, we would do better to discard it, until we have found a more reliable reason to argue differently.

It would, perhaps, also be interesting to note at this point that all the factive SC verbs analyzed here take da-clauses as complements, and none of them could be described as 'emotive'.

We shall return to a general discussion of the constructions taken by particular verbs later.

4. E factive gerunds are rendered in SC by što-clauses and E non-factive gerunds (where they are possible) by SC da-clauses.

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\* The Kiparskys argued that the 'accusative-plus-infinitive' construction was a feature of non-factive verbs. The verbs know and realize, however, (which are semantically factive) can occur in this construction.

Again, since we have established that there are factives in SC that take da-clauses, it seems reasonable to assume that there might be some factives in this language which would render E gerunds by da-clauses, although no such example has been found.

The articles by the Kiparskys and Bibović have undoubtedly provoked a considerable amount of thought about the direct connection between factivity of the main predicate and the syntactic structure of the complement. But just to what extent it will prove to be a significant causal relationship, is at present hard to discern and we shall probably have to await further empirical evidence before coming to any decision.

2.2.6 More generally, Karttunen (1970c:7) has remarked that some factive verbs, like regret and realize, for example, in conditional sentences do not presuppose the truth of the complement. However, it seems that these verbs cannot be regarded as exceptions to some general rule in this respect, because all the factive verbs included in the present analysis, if tested for it, also show the same property, as the reader may verify for himself. (We are not, however, directly concerned with the behaviour of factive verbs in conditional sentences.)

Let us note that not all types of conditional clauses have the same effect on these verbs. Karttunen's example is in the form If+Verb Pres, Main clause Verb Future:

16. If I realize later that I have not told the truth, I  
will confess it to everyone.

With respect to this kind of conditional his observation seems to be correct. The same holds true for the type If+Verb Past, Main clause Pres Cond.:

17. If I realized later, etc., I would confess ..., etc.

But it does not hold true for the third type of conditionals ('past counterfactuals'):

If+Verb Pluperf., Main clause Past Cond. !'

18. If I had realized that I had not told the truth, I  
would have confessed it to everyone.

This may tie up with Langendoen's proposal that 'a conditional sentence has the property that its presupposition is presupposed in a (possibly imaginary) world in which its antecedent is true' (1971c:58). Or even better, perhaps, with Fillmore's view 'that an utterance of the sentence presupposes the falsity of the presupposition contained in the if-clause' (1971c:277).

2.2.7 In a slightly different connection, Fillmore has had quite a lot to say about presuppositions. In a considerable part of his work he has been concerned with the case relationships of verbs, namely the various 'roles' that one is able to attach to different verbs, on the basis of what kinds of subject and object they take (see especially Fillmore, 1968b:382-390). This means, to borrow his terminology, that different predicates presuppose and require different kinds of arguments. His examples are numerous, but I will mention only the verbs break and bend. They both require that what is referred to by their objects shall have a specific property, that is to say, for break what is referred to by the object should have a certain rigidity, and for bend, on the contrary, it should be flexible, but, as Fillmore puts it, 'offering resistance'. But, as mentioned above, not only do verbs require certain properties of the referents of their objects. They have special criteria for what they take as their subject. So that in the above two examples, both verbs require the referents of their subject either to be animate, or if they are inanimate, to have strength resulting from their internal structure or composition. This is why sponge would not be an appropriate subject of these verbs, but stone would. When used intransitively, however, these verbs will require their superficial subjects to have a property of rigidity and flexibility respectively.

Fillmore further talks about the differentiation between what a word conveys and what it presupposes. His example is the noun bachelor: 'We have learned that the noun bachelor identifies something which is Male, Human, Adult and Unmarried. It seems to me that only Unmarried (...) is the concept that one would wish to associate directly with the meaning of bachelor, and that the other three properties make up part of our understanding of the nature of arguments that bachelor as a predicate can accept.' (1968b:393)

A more elaborate description of verbs is given by Fillmore in his recent article on the verbs of judging (1971) where this distinction between 'basic' meanings and presuppositions is explicitly stated. For example:

ACCUSE / JUDGE, DEFENDANT, SITUATION (of)/  
Meaning: SAY /JUDGE, 'X', ADDRESSEE/  
X=RESPONSIBLE /SITUATION, DEFENDANT/  
Presupposition: BAD /SITUATION/  
(1971:282)

### 2.3 Presuppositions as Features

In this work I propose to treat the presuppositions of items as semantic features, that is to say, to try to explain their differences and similarities in terms of presuppositions that they involve. As was stated earlier (in Chapter I) the description will be conducted within a ternary, rather than binary system of features which reflects the empirical evidence that some words can remain unspecified with respect to a certain feature rather than have the value plus or minus.

Factivity is of primary importance in the network of the semantic field of knowledge and understanding and in this study is taken to be a presupposition which has specific relevance to the use of all the verbs of the field.

It is for this reason that we would now like to turn to Karttunen's classification of verbs in terms of factivity (1970c), mainly to establish its significance for the present semantic field.

He has observed that verbs may show different properties relative to factivity in affirmative and negative assertions. This is based on the commitment of the speaker with respect to the truth or falsity of the complement. According to Karttunen, it is possible to distinguish clearly several groups of verbs on the basis of this criterion. He established four, which are as follows:

1. FACTIVES (e.g. realize, odd). Both affirmative and negative assertions commit the speaker to the belief that what is expressed by the complement is true.

For example:

19. (a)\* I realized that he was very ill, but he wasn't.

(b)\* I didn't realize that he was very ill, but he wasn't.

2. IMPLICATIVES (e.g. manage, happen), where affirmative assertion commits the speaker to the belief that the complement is true, and the negative assertion that the complement is false.

For example:

20. (a)\* I managed to get there in time, but I didn't.

(b)\* I didn't manage to get there in time, but I did.

3. IF-VERBS<sup>\*</sup> (e.g. force, certain), where affirmative assertion commits the speaker to the belief that the complement is true, but the negative assertion does not involve any such commitment.

For example:

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\* Karttunen also talks about negative implicatives and negative if-verbs, but since they do not have a deeper relevance to this work, I have omitted them.

21.(a)\* He forced her to go, but she didn't.

(b) He didn't force her to go, but she went.

and she didn't.

4. ONLY-IF VERBS (e.g. able, possible), which, in affirmative assertions do not commit the speaker to the belief of truth or falsity, but which in negative assertions commit him to the belief that the complement is false.

For example:

22.(a) He was able to go, but he didn't.

and he did.

(b)\* He wasn't able to go, but he did.

Therefore, the pattern of commitment of the speaker can be represented as follows\* :

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
FACTIVES	+	+
IMPLICATIVES	+	-
IF-VERBS	+	O
ONLY-IF VERBS	O	-

We can now relate Karttunen's observation to the verbs of knowledge and understanding. None of Karttunen's implicatives fall within this field, so that we can, on the basis of factivity, i. e. employing the but-test, divide them into four subgroups:

1. FACTIVES, which in both affirmative and negative assertions presuppose speaker's commitment to the truth of the complement;

-----

\* '+' , '-' and 'O' represent the values of the complement when the main verb is in affirmative and negative: '+' = true; '-' = false; 'O' = unspecified.



2. AFFIRMATIVE COMMITTALS<sup>\*</sup>, which presuppose truth in affirmative assertions, but are unspecified in negative assertions;
3. NEGATIVE COMMITTALS, which are unspecified in affirmative assertions but presuppose the falsity of the complement in the negative ones;
4. NON-FACTIVES, which are unspecified with respect to the speaker's belief, in both affirmative and negative assertions.

(It will be noted that the term 'Non-factive' is here being used in a narrower sense than it was in the discussion of the Kiparskys' article.)

This can be represented in a table as follows:

	MAIN VERB AFFIRMATIVE	MAIN VERB NEGATIVE
FACTIVES	+	+
AFFIRMATIVE COMMITTALS	+	O
NEGATIVE COMMITTALS	O	-
NON-FACTIVES	O	O

And the following is a list (selected for the purpose of this study) of SC and E verbs of knowledge and understanding that constitute these subgroups:

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\* The terms 'Affirmative Committals' and 'Negative Committals' have been chosen instead of Karttunen's 'If-Verb' and 'Only-If Verb' for mnemonic reasons.

## FACTIVES

### SC

biti jasno  
biti svjestan  
pojmiti  
poznavati  
(pre)poznati  
razumjeti  
shvatiti  
spoznati  
upoznati  
uvidjeti  
znati

### E

be clear  
comprehend  
grasp  
know  
realize  
recognize  
understand

## AFFIRMATIVE COMMITTALS

### SC

doznati  
opaziti  
otkriti  
primijetiti  
saznati  
uočiti  
vidjeti  
zapaziti

### E

be aware  
be conscious  
discover  
find out  
get to know  
learn ('obtain information')  
make out  
notice  
perceive  
see

## NEGATIVE COMMITTALS

### SC

biti sposoban  
biti u stanju  
misliti  
moći  
umjeti  
vjerovati  
znati

### E

be able  
be capable of  
believe  
can  
conceive  
know how  
think

## NON-FACTIVES

S C

čuti

(na)učiti

osjetiti

razumjeti

shvatiti

E

feel

hear

learn (in the sense of 'memorizing')

understand

As we shall see later (on p. 64 ), some verbs vary in factivity depending on the V +Sentence construction that they enter. In the above classification account has been taken only of V +that +Sentence construction, with the verb in the affirmative or in the negative. The verbs that take only V +Object construction, poznavati, (pre)poznati and recognize (in the sense of 'known before'), have been found to be factives.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Prof. J. Lyons has drawn my attention to the fact that it is necessary to distinguish in the use of the negative of a factive verb between the denial of a previously asserted (or implied) positive proposition and the assertion of a negative proposition. For example, 'I don't know that it was raining' can be followed by 'and I don't believe it', if it is an answer to 'It's raining', whereas otherwise it cannot. It appears likely, from my consideration of the question, that the same general conditions hold for SC.

## CHAPTER THREE

### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS of VERBS of KNOWLEDGE and UNDERSTANDING

3.1 There are certain properties that can be discerned throughout the group of verbs of knowledge and understanding, and which are common to those not belonging to this semantic field at all. The ones that seem to be of crucial importance here are the features that relate to ASPECT, TIME ADVERBIALS which the verbs can take and the SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION they can enter. Each of these properties will be discussed separately.

3.2 With regard to the two languages contrasted in this work, aspect is one of the properties which is overtly marked in SC but not in E. By 'overtly marked' I simply mean : recognizable in the infinitive form of the verb. Therefore, while in SC there may exist two infinitives of one and the same verb, expressing aspectual differences of duration and punctuality<sup>\*</sup>, this difference is not marked in E. This is the reason why we shall here make a distinction for the SC group of verbs and not for the E one. It is, however, important to observe that, although this overt distinction cannot be matched in SC and E, the related semantic categories are identifiable with respect to both.

Traditionally, the two infinitive forms of verbs in SC are named PERFECTIVE (expressing punctuality, i. e. an activity or process that takes up only a short section of time), and the IMPERFECTIVE (expressing mostly a process or a state which can last over a longer period of time). This is, however, not the whole point. We shall be able to observe that some perfectives can express a durative  
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\* The terminology is borrowed from the PhD. dissertation by Midhat Ridjanović, which will shortly be mentioned in more detail.



Notice that the SC perfective (na)učiti (learn) is restricted in the same way as the E equivalent when it is preceded by izgledati ('seem'). Consider the following examples:

4. (a)\* Izgleda da on nauči odgovor.

\*(He seems to learn the answer.)

(b) Izgleda da on nauči odgovor(e) brzo.

(He seems to learn the answer(s) quickly.)

Further on, Ridjanović states that 'a durative VP subordinate to hope refers to present time, a punctual VP to future time'. (1969:110) The examples given are:

5. (a) I hope he knows.

(b) I hope he says something.

Notice, however, that there are a number of E verbs with which we are concerned in this study, that, although they can be marked as durative, exhibit ambiguity between present and future time in the environment (i. e. syntactic frame): I hope/——. These verbs are: feel, believe, be clear, perceive, think, understand, comprehend, and see. Consider the following examples:

6. (a) I hope he feels that I am right

[now that I have tried to convince him.  
once he's seen it himself.

(b) I hope he believes you [since you have asked him to.  
when you tell him.

(c) ..... it's clear to him

(d) ..... he understands

what I mean.

(e) ..... he comprehends

when I explain it to him.

(f) ..... he sees

(g) ..... he perceives the difference [since there is one.  
when I point it out to him.

(h) ..... he thinks that I'm good enough for the job

[now that I've tried to prove it.  
when I try to prove it.

This can be explained (as indeed Ridjanović did (1969:143)) by the



fact that these verbs (and probably many others not belonging to this semantic field) have the property of functioning with different duration\* depending on whether they are in the past and future tense or whether they are in the present tense. In fact, only a few verbs of this field are confined to only one dimension. We shall return to this shortly.

Ridjanović mentions a further constraint on the perfective verbs in SC, and that is 'their incapability of appearing as complements of the verbs početi 'to begin' and prestati 'to cease'.' (1969:127)

We can, perhaps, add here that this is not only the case with perfectives, but also with verbs like znati ('know') that mainly express a state.

For example:

7. SC \*Počeo sam da znam šta on misli.

E \*I began to know what he meant.

(A further interesting distinction between perfectives and imperfectives will be mentioned in the next section with reference to M. Ivić's article on determiners (1962).)

Ridjanović draws the following conclusion: 'The study of the syntactic constraints on the use of the so called perfective and imperfective verbs in SC reveals that the major feature of the opposition between them is not the completion versus the incompleteness of the action designated by the verb, but rather the indivisibility versus divisibility of the temporal dimension associated with the action.' (1969:128).

3.2.2 Ridjanović's primary division of SC verbs is into: stative (denoting properties, relations and states), cursive - traditionally imperfective (denoting activities and processes), and totive -

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\* by 'different duration' I mean one of the three dimensions discussed below. See distinction: process-state-event.

traditional perfective<sup>\*</sup>. This roughly corresponds to the division made in this study, except that, instead of naming the verbs themselves as, for example, 'process-state' verbs, or 'process-state-event' verbs, the notion of aspect is divided into three semantic features: /Process/,(further subdivided into /Repetitive/, and /Continuous/), /State/, and /Event/.

/Process/ is a feature that refers to an action<sup>\*\*</sup> which takes up a longer period of time and usually shows some kind of development with respect to the starting point of that action. The subfeature /Repetitive/ refers to actions which may last for a longer period of time, but within which shorter time periods are easily discernable, that is, those during which only one part of the whole process has been accomplished (each of these shorter sections marks a repetition and not a continuation of the previous one). The subfeature /Continuous/ refers to processes which take up a longer section of time, but within which shorter periods are not discernable. /State/ and /Event/ are contrasted on the basis of the duration of the action. While /State/ refers to a lasting action, /Event/ indicates that the action occupies a single point on the time scale.

These three features are based on two notions: activity (which means that the Subject is the Agent), and length of time. So that /Process/ and /Event/ may refer to activities, while /State/ does not. On the other hand, /State/ and /Process/ refer to 'lengthy' actions, whereas /Event/ does not.

### 3.2.3 Collectively, SC and E verbs for knowledge and understanding

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\* From the Ph. D. dissertation by J. E. Miller (1970); it is obvious that a similar classification is possible for the Russian verbs.

\*\* the term action (as opposed to activity) is employed here in a broader sense to mean anything that a verb can refer to whether it was a process, a state or an event.

seem to fall into six distinct groups with respect to these aspectual features:

- I /Process/, /State/, /Event/
- II /Process/, /Event/
- III /State/, /Event/
- IV /Process/, /State/
- V /Process/
- VI /State/

Since the analysis of aspect, because of its complexity, needs a separate study, I will not even attempt here to present it in any great detail, which means that, among other things, it will be impossible to include all possible tenses relative to the aspectual differences of each verb. Also, the adverbial side of the question will not be presented systematically, but only in passing. The aim of this work (with regard to aspect) is to provide an overall picture of aspectual possibilities of each verb, in order to establish how the verbs are related and when they are substitutable.

We can now proceed to enumerate the verbs and give examples for each group.

Group I /Process/, /State/, /Event/

SC: Perfective

E

razumjeti	understand
vidjeti	comprehend
moći *	realize
biti u stanju	recognize
biti sposoban	see
umjeti	can
	be able
	be capable

-----

\* Moći, biti u stanju, biti sposoban and umjeti cannot be characterized as perfectives, but they can take all three features of aspect although only biti sposoban can take the feature /Process/ overtly with postati ('become').

Examples:

/Process/

8. SC Polako sam razumio šta on misli.

E I gradually understood what he meant.

/State/

9. SC Vidim šta on misli.

E I see what he means.

/Event/

10. SC Razumio sam odmah šta misli.

E I understood immediately what he meant.

Notice that the adverbs polako, ('gradually'), odmah ('immediately') in (8) and (10) play a significant role in the complete disambiguation between /Process/ and /Event/. While the rest of the sentence is a constant, adverbials are variables which, in this case shift the meaning of the whole context either towards /Process/ or towards /Event/.

Notice also that vidjeti in (9) is essentially a perfective verb but (Ridjanović also mentions this phenomenon (1969: 143) ) in the Present Tense it may have either the feature /State/, or the feature /Event/, whereas in the Past Tense it can only have the feature /Event/ unless it is modified by a time adverbial. It seems that the same holds for the English see.

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\* The imperfective is vidjati, which does not belong to the semantic field of knowledge and understanding.

Group II /Process/, /Event/.

SC: Perfective

čuti

saznati

doznati

spoznati

shvatiti

pojmiti

postati svjestan

postati jasno

poznati

prepoznati

upoznati

pomisliti

osjetiti

povjerovati

otkriti

primijetiti

opaziti

zapaziti

uočiti

naučiti

uvidjeti

E

grasp

conceive

become conscious

become clear

become aware

make out

hear

learn

discover

notice

perceive

think

find out

get to know

A further subdivision of these verbs has to be made on the basis of what kind of /Process/ they are marked for. All SC perfectives enumerated above are marked /Repetitive process/, while only a number of them are marked also /Continuous process/. These are as follows:

shvatiti

pojmiti

postati svjestan

postati jasno

upoznati

naučiti

uvidjeti

osjetiti

otkriti

zapaziti

In English only make out is not marked /Repetitive process/,  
and only conceive and hear are not marked /Continuous process/.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:

/Repetitive process/<sup>2</sup>

11. SC Čujem novosti od njih.

E I hear the news from them.

/Continuous process/

12. SC Polako sam postao svjestan svega toga.

E I slowly became conscious/aware of all that.

/Event/

13. SC Čuo sam (čujem) da je bolestan.

E I have heard (I hear) that he is ill.

It may be noted here from examples (11) and (13) that in some cases the 'repetitiveness' of a verb is expressed in the plurality of the object associated with it. This seems to apply to verbs that are mostly event-orientated (like čuti and hear above). Other verbs do not necessarily need their objects to be in plural in order to express 'repetitiveness'. For example, SC prepoznati and E recognize:

14. SC Prepoznao sam svako drvo u toj bašti.

E I recognized each tree in that garden.

where plurality is expressed by the words svako and each in SC and E respectively.

Group III /State/, /Event/

SC: Imperfective

E

znati

know

be aware

biti svjestan

be conscious

feel

biti jasno

be clear

believe

Examples:

/State/

15. SC Znam šta misliš.

E I know what you mean.

/Event/

16. SC Tad sam znao šta namjerava da učini.

E I knew then what he intended to do.

Notice that the time adverbials, like tad in SC and then in E, make it clear that in (16) we are concerned with a momentary action, while their omission may leave open the ambiguity with respect to the length of time involved (as in (15)). \*

Group IV /Process/, /State/

SC: Imperfective

razumijevati

shvatati

poimati

Examples:

/Process/

17. SC Razumijevali su dobro šta sam im govorio.

E (They were understanding well what I was telling them.)

/State/

18. SC Razumijevali su se vrlo dobro.

E (They understood each other very well.)

The imperfective razumijevati is very seldom used in my dialect. Mostly, it is employed in the past tense, as above. I have found

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\* The question of time adverbials as verb modifiers will be taken up in the following section with particular reference to the articles of M. Ivić (1962) and D. Crystal (1966).



three examples, (in casual reading) in the translation of Pearl S. Buck's novel Pavilion of Women (translated by Nonad Jovanović). There is not a single example of this imperfective in my corpus.

#### Group V /Process/

SC: Imperfective

saznavati

doznavati

spoznavati

postajati svjestan

postajati jasno

prepoznavati

upoznavati

učiti

misliti

otkrivati

primjećivati

opažati

zapažati

uočavati

These verbs differ with respect to the subdivision of the feature /Process/. It seems that most of them are marked for both.

However, saznavati, doznavati, and prepoznavati seem to be marked only for /Repetitive process/, while postajati svjestan and postajati jasno, are only marked for /Continuous process/.

Examples:

/Repetitive process/

19. SC Doznavao sam sve o njemu preko njegovog prijatelja.

E (I got to know all about him through his friend.)

/Continuous process/

20. SC Postajala je svjesna svoje želje za promjenom.

E (She became (was becoming) aware of her desire for change.)

Group VI /State/

SC: Imperfective

poznavati

uvidjati

osjećati

vjerovati

Examples:

21. SC Poznavao sam ga. (I knew him.)

SC Uvidjao sam (osjećao sam, vjerovao sam) da je u pravu.  
( I realized (felt, believed) that he was right.)

While the SC verbs quoted in (21), because of their imperfective nature, unambiguously reflect the feature /State/, it is worth observing that the E verbs given in the translation of these examples can here express either /State/ or /Event/.

3.2.4 It is important to point out here the relationship of consequence (see Lyons; 1963:111-119) which holds between verbs that express /Process/ or /Event/ (as antecedents), and the verbs that express /State/ (as consequents). Lyons calls this relationship 'a special type of (pragmatic) implication operating within the aspectual system of the language'. He distinguishes between unilateral and bilateral implication, the latter resulting in synonymy of antecedent and consequent.

Since we are here mainly concerned with the interchangeability of items on the basis of sameness of meaning, we will give a few examples from both languages to illustrate the relation of consequence named 'bilateral implication'. As will be seen, in both SC and E the antecedent is in the past tense, while the consequent is in the present tense. Or, if the antecedent is in the pluperfect, the consequent is in the past tense.

22.(a) SC Jesi li čuo šta o tome govore? (DS150.32) - Znaš

li šta a tome govore?

E Have you heard what they are saying about that? (My tr.)

(b) SC Taj njegov čovjek lično je iskusio i naučio šta staje funta

zla. (ZS035.12) - Taj njegov čovjek (...) zna šta

staje funta zla.

E That man (...) has personally experienced and learnt

the cost of evil. (My tr.)

(c) E 'Lucy, ... - have you heard that Tolbrook is being

sold, to be pulled down (P15.30).

'Lucy,... - do you know that Tolbrook is being sold ...

(d) For though he can't speak, he has learnt to pray. (P288.20)

For though he can't speak, he knows how to pray.

Here is shown the bilateral consequential implication between the SC verbs čuti and naučiti, and the verb znati. Also the same relationship is shown between the E verbs hear and learn and the verb know(how). The relationship can be represented as follows:

SC čuti (past) ----- znati (present)

naučiti (past) ----- znati (present)

E hear (present perfect) ----- know(how) (present)

learn (present perfect) ----- know(how) (present)

SC <u>čuti</u>	)		
	)		
<u>naučiti</u>	)	<u>znati</u>	)
E <u>hear</u>	)	<u>know(how)</u>	)
	)		)
<u>learn</u>	)		)

(pluperfect) --- (past tense)

A further point (and a very important one) to notice here is the fact that 'bilateral implication' is a contextual phenomenon since it need not always be necessarily true that the sentences in (22a-d) stand in such a relationship. Generally they would be interpreted to stand in relation of unilateral implication.

### 3, 3 Time Adverbials

3. 3. 1 In her article on determiners Milka Ivić (1962) discusses the distinction between omissible and non-omissible determiners with particular reference to SC. A few points from the article are well worthwhile taking up here, because they throw a new light on the question of verbal tenses and their interrelationship with the time adverbials. According to Ivić there are two kinds of non-omissible determiners. There are those that are introduced at a particular point in speech in order to delimit and specify the meaning so that their omission would result not in an ungrammatical expression, but would, rather, change the meaning of that expression. The example given was the SC verb putovati ('travel') (1962:201), which, used in the present tense without any time adverbial means 'I am travelling', but which, with the time adverbial sutra ('tomorrow') refers to a future action :

23. (a) Putujem. - I am travelling.

(b) Putujem sutra. - I am going to travel tomorrow.

According to Ivić the time adverbial sutra is classed as a non-omissible determiner since it marks a contrast in meaning between the situations when it is used and when it is not.

As opposed to this kind of non-omissible determiners, there are those the omission of which would yield a meaningless expression. As an example, Ivić contrasts the present tense of the imperfective verbs with the present tense of the perfective verbs in SC: '... the perfective present tense form appears either free or

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\* J. Lyons points out that in E 'I'm travelling by train' could refer to the future, provided it is clear in the context. The same holds true for SC.

bound\* to the presence of an accessory grammatical element depending on the concrete use: the perfective present is an obligatory bound form. This is in direct correlation with the fact that it is impossible to denote the actual event by means of perfective present (dodjem means nothing; but kad dodjem means 'when I come', dodjem juče i... ('I came yesterday, and ...')) (1962:201).

3.3.2 Referring to Ivić's article, D. Crystal (1966:5) states: 'The crucial point is that it is not the present tense on its own which is causing the change in temporal emphasis which is then given a new label, but the present tense (...) colligated with, or (...) being specified by an adverbial word, phrase or clause of time, both of which work together to produce a definable time-relationship which may then be referred to with a new label. It is not a question of tense-form alone giving the relevant distinguishing indication of time, as has been traditionally assumed, but of tense-form with or without adverbial specification which gives unambiguous indication. One interprets a given tense-form in a particular way either because the key to the interpretation is given in the form of an adverbial specifier, or because the absence of such a key is itself equally clear as a pointer to which time is being referred to.'

In his discussion about this interrelationship Crystal considers six verb forms:

- 1 present ('live')
- 2 preterite ('lived')
- 3 perfect ('have lived')
- 4 pluperfect ('had lived')
- 5 conditional ('would live')
- 6 future ('will live')

-----

\* The use of the terms free and bound here, as Ivić explained, refers to the above differences between the two kinds of non-omissible determiners, and thus differs from what might be regarded as their standard use in morphology and syntax. (cf. Bloomfield, 1935:160.)

He then classes the time adverbials into 4 main categories, as follows:

- I How often? Frequency of occurrence
- II How long? Restricted duration
- III When? The reference explicit
- IV When? Require previous explicit time reference

The fourth category branches off into three subcategories:

- a: time referred to precedes explicit time reference
- b: time referred to is simultaneous with the explicit time reference
- c: time referred to follows the explicit time reference

Each of the categories as well as the three subcategories are again subclassified into smaller units (listed in the Appendix).

The two main issues of the discussion were to establish 'the number of tense-forms which colligate with an adverbial, and the number and type of meanings ascribable to each individual colligation.' (1966:16).

3.3.3 Because of the complexity of the matter, it has been thought best, for the purpose of this work, to establish broadly (on the basis of Crystal's classification) which adverbials colligate with which verbs without considering, apart from an illustration, the two issues mentioned above (and even then not taking into account the differences in meaning). To undertake a systematic and exhaustive study of this kind would not only take up much time and space, but would also involve a further complication arising from the contrastive character of this analysis: i. e. the correspondence of tenses (or, better, their non-correspondence) in the two languages would largely have to be taken into account. Also the very relevant question of the perfective-imperfective opposition in SC would have to be discussed in detail in order to represent their relationship to the time adverbials. All this would take us way beyond the limits of the present study.

An attempt will now be made to present the collocation of verbs and time adverbials. For mnemonic reasons it seems convenient to give an example of the feature in question at the head of each column. For reference, the same example will be quoted against each feature in the Appendix to this chapter. Also, for brevity, the number of collocations (which will be marked '+' in brackets) or the number of non-collocations (marked '-') will be stated, depending on which is smaller. The number in brackets after each example indicates the feature as listed in the Appendix.

The E time adverbials taken into consideration by Crystal, have been compared with the SC ones to establish their near-equivalence. They will be listed in brackets beside the English ones.

All colligations have been checked with one SC and one E native speaker.

I The following verbs collocate with all time adverbials on the list:

SC	E
čuti	be clear
saznati	be conscious
doznati	be aware
biti svjestan	see
biti jasno	hear
naučiti	learn
vidjeti	discover
osjetiti	feel
otkriti	notice
primijetiti	perceive
opaziti	find out
zapaziti	recognize
biti u stanju	can
moći	be able
	get to know





II (-) annually (godišnje) (A8)

SC znati

E know

razumjeti

understand

shvatiti

think

believe

III (-) once before (jednom ranije) (A2), a few times (nekoliko puta) (A5),  
all the time (cijelo vrijeme) (A9).

SC umjeti

E be capable

biti sposoban

IV (-) any moment now (svakog trenutka) (C1)

SC uvidjeti

V (-) annually (godišnje) (A8), from now (od sad) (B4)

SC pojmiti

VI (-) annually (godišnje) (A8), all that day (cijeli taj dan) (B1),

so far (do sad) (B2), for the moment (trenutno) (B3),

from now (od sad) (B4), any moment now (svakog trenutka) (C1)

at present (trenutko) (C2a), right now (upravo sad) (C2b)

SC spoznati

VII (-) annually (godišnje) (A8), any moment now (svakog trenutka) (C1)

SC (po)misliti

(po)vjerovati

VIII (+) never (nikad) (A1), for the moment (trenutno) (B3),

for ages (dugo vremena) (B5), at present (trenutno) (C2a),

right now (upravo sad) (C2b), just now (upravo sad) (C3b),

already (već) (D1), by then (dotle) (D3), at that age (u to doba) (E)

finally (konačno) (F3), a day later (dan kasnije) (F5)

SC poznavati

IX (-) once before (jednom ranije) (A2), once more (još jednom) (A3), almost never (skoro nikad) (A4), a few times (nekoliko puta) (A5), often (često) (A6), nearly always (skoro uvijek) (A7), all the time (cijelo vrijeme) (A9).

SC upoznati

X (+) never (nikad) (A1), once before (jednom ranije) (A2), once more (još jednom) (A3), almost never (skoro nikad) (A4), a few times (nekoliko puta) (A5), often (često) (A6), nearly always (skoro uvijek) (A7), this morning (jutros) (C4), already (već) (D1), all of a sudden (odjednom) (F1)

SC poznati (prepoznati)

XI (-) annually (godišnje) (A8), all the time (cijelo vrijeme) (A9),  
all that day (cijeli taj dan) (B1)

E comprehend

XII (-) annually (godišnje) (A8), all that day (cijeli taj dan) (B1),  
for the moment (trenutno) (B3), for ages (dugo vremena) (B5)

E grasp

XIII (-) so far (dosad) (B2), from now (odsad) (B4)

E realize

3.3.4 In order to illustrate the interrelationship between the verb-forms and the time adverbials in both languages we shall have to establish the difference existing in this respect in E and SC. The numbers and letters beside the verb forms in SC and E respectively will then serve to represent them in the illustration.

SC     1 present ('znam')  
         2 imperfect ('znadjah') - knew  
         3 perfect ('znao sam') - knew, have known

- 4 aorist ('znadoh') - knew
- 5 pluperfect ('bio sam znao') - had known
- 6 conditional ('bih znao') - would know
- 7 future ('Ću znati') - will know

- E a present ('know')
- b preterite ('knew')
- c perfect ('have known')
- d pluperfect ('had known')
- e conditional ('would know')
- f future ('will know')

The difference in the number of verb-forms as well as the difference in meaning of the tenses in the two languages<sup>\*</sup> are reflected significantly in the colligation of the verb-forms and the time adverbials. (Of the SC tenses, the imperfect is today restricted mostly to fiction, being less and less used in everyday speech.)

The purpose of the illustration below is to show the extreme complexity of the differences in the two languages with respect to time adverbials. It is a rough representation of the contrast between SC znati and E know in their colligation with the time adverbials<sup>3</sup>:

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\* For example, in translation, the SC imperfect, perfect and aorist (of course, with nuances of meaning), would correspond roughly to the E preterite. Although the E perfect would mostly be represented by the SC perfect, the SC perfect may be translated by the E preterite as also may be the SC perfect and aorist.

## SC TENSE(S)

## TIME ADVERBIAL(S) - examples

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 -----	<u>nikad</u> (A1)
- 2 3 4 - - - -----	<u>jednom ranije</u> (A2)
1 2 3 4 - 6 7 -----	<u>još jednom</u> (A3), <u>često</u> (A6)
- - 3 4 - - - -----	<u>skoro uvijek</u> (A7) <u>jutros</u> (C4)
1 2 3 4 - 6 - -----	<u>skoro nikad</u> (A4)
1 2 3 4 - - - -----	<u>nekoliko puta</u> (A5)
- 2 3 - 5 6 7 -----	<u>cijelo vrijeme</u> (A9)
1 - 3 4 5 - - -----	<u>cijeli taj dan</u> (B1)
1 - 3 - - 6 7 -----	<u>dosad</u> (B2)
- 2 3 - 5 6 7 -----	<u>trenutno</u> (B3), <u>odsad</u> (B4),
- - - - - 7 -----	<u>poslije toga</u> (F4)
1 - 3 - - 6 - -----	<u>dugo vremena</u> (B5)
1 - 3 4 - 6 7 -----	<u>svakog trenutka</u> (C1)
- - 3 4 - 6 - -----	<u>trenutno</u> (C2a)
1 - - - - 6 7 -----	<u>upravo <del>sad</del></u> (C3b), <u>upravo sad</u> (C2b),
1 - 3 - - 6 - -----	<u>konačno</u> (F3), <u>odjednom</u> (F1)
- - 3 4 - 6 - -----	<u>početkom sedmice</u> (C3a)
1 - - - - 6 7 -----	<u>sve u svoje vrijeme</u> (C5)
1 - 3 - 5 6 7 -----	<u>već</u> (D1)
- - 3 - 5 - 7 -----	<u>uочи</u> (D2)
- - 3 4 5 6 7 -----	<u>dotle</u> (D3), <u>dan ranije</u> (D4)
1 2 3 - - 6 7 -----	<u>u to doba</u> (E)
- - 3 4 - 6 7 -----	<u>dan kasnije</u> (F5)
- - 3 - - - 7 -----	<u>uskoro poslije toga</u> (F2)

## E TENSE(S)

a b c d e f -----

- b c d - - -----

- b - d e f -----

a b - - e f -----

a b c - e f -----

a - - - e f -----

a - - - e - -----

- b c d e f -----

a b - d e f -----

- b - - e f -----

- - - - f -----

- b c - e f -----

## TIME ADVERBIAL(S) - examples

never (A1), almost never (A4),nearly always (A7), once more (A3),all the time (A9), already (D1),at last (F3), at that age (E),often (A6), so far (B2)once before (A2), earlier thisweek (C3a)all that day (B1)for the moment (B3), just now (C3b)all of a sudden (F1), this morning(C4), all in good time (C5)from now (B4)right now (C2b), at present (C2a)for ages (B5), a few times (A5),on the eve of (D2), a day later (F5),a day earlier (D4)by then (D3)a short while afterwards (F2)any moment now (C1)after that (F4)

### 3.4 Sentence Construction

The question of sentence constructions relevant for the verbs of this semantic field will be discussed in five parts:

- (a) Imperative
- (b) Type of sentence taken by the verb as complement
- (c) Type of object required by the verb
- (d) V + V construction
- (e) Volition (discussed in Chapter V)

3.4.1 The feature /Imperative/ is important for this analysis as one of the restrictions on substitutability of verbs. For example, SC shvatiti and E understand are, according to the components they share, very close in meaning. But an imperative SC sentence with the verb shvatiti would generally be rendered in English by the form must, should, ought + V<sup>\*</sup>:

24. SC Shvati da je izlaz iz ove situacije napuštanje  
Jastreba. (DS132.31)

E You must understand that the way out of this  
situation is for us to leave Jastrebac. (My tr.)

The following is the list of verbs of knowledge and understanding which can generally occur in the imperative:

SC			E	
znati	upoznati	zapaziti	be clear	believe
čuti	naučiti	uočiti	be aware	find out
saznati	vidjeti		see	get to know
doznati	(po)misliti		hear	recognize
razumjeti	(po)vjerovati		learn	('known before')
shvatiti	(pre)poznati		discover	
biti svjestan	otkriti		notice	
biti jasno	primijetiti		think	
-----				

\* J. Lyons reminds me that understand can be used in the imperative, though with restrictions, e. g. 'Understand me well'.

In Chapter I it was mentioned that know in E, unlike znati in SC , is not normally used in the imperative in the construction V + THAT +Sentence. But it can be so used in the construction V +Object, and one of the contexts is, for example, that of the teacher telling his pupil:

25. Know your multiplication tables by Monday.

In SC this would be rendered not by the verb znati, but by the perfective of the verb učiti ('learn'). The E verb learn would, of course, be an alternative here.

The imperative can in SC be expressed (as far as znati is concerned) not only by the verb in the imperative form, but also by the construction da +V Pres, with approximately the same meaning as in the following example:

26. Vojnik ne gine od topa, već od nepažnje i svoje  
lude glave. To da znaš. (DS 30.10)

-It's not bullets that kill a soldier, but carelessness  
and loosing his head. You should remember this.  
(tr. p. 32)

SC čuti, saznati and doznati, and E hear, learn (in the sense of gaining information) make out are not used in the imperative without a verb like go or try preceding them, in the form go, try +V Imp. For example:

27.(a) Idi i čuj (saznaj, doznaj) šta se dogodilo.

- Go and hear (learn) what has happened.

(b) Try and make out what he means.

The reason for (27a) can be found in the fact that all these verbs share the feature /-Direct information/, which involves the hearer  
-----



obtaining information about a situation not by observing it, but from somebody's account (discussed on pp.170-189).

The reason for make out being accompanied (preceded) by try seems to be that this verb presupposes some difficulty of perception or interpretation, i. e. leaves open a possibility of failure. As we shall see, this verb is positively specified for the feature /Effort/ (discussed on pp.189-196).

SC biti svjestan and E be conscious of, otherwise quite close in meaning, differ with respect to the feature /Imperative/. While the SC verb can be used in this form, the E one cannot. For example, it is possible to say in SC:

28. Budi svjestan da sam ja take morao da postupim.

- You must realize that I had to act that way.

But the E translation which employs be conscious is hardly acceptable:  
\*Be conscious that I had to act that way.

SC biti jasno and E be clear<sup>\*</sup> behave similarly here, forming the imperative by NEKA + Obj (Dat) + V in SC, and by LET IT + V + Obj (Dat) in E, therefore both having the characteristics of third person imperative<sup>\*\*</sup>. Consider the following example:

29. SC Neka ti je jasno da ja neću popustiti.

E Let it be clear to you that I won't give in.

3.4.2 The question of the type of sentence which a verb can take as a complement will be discussed on the basis of the following features: /Implied question/, /Direct question/, and /Statement/, the last of which is again subdivided into: /Negative/ and

\* also used in the imperative form in contexts of 'clarification', where another alternative would be clarify (in SC razjasniti)

\*\* as in: Neka dodje (let him come)

/Affirmative/.

The verbs have been tested (with respect to these features) for seven types of complement clauses, i. e. clauses beginning with the following conjunctions: da-that (e. g. I know that I am right.), da li-whether (e. g. I always know whether to go or not.), zašto-why (e. g. I know why he went.), kako-how (e. g. I know how he feels.), kad-when (e. g. I know when he is coming.), gdje(kuda)-where (e. g. I know where you are going.) and šta-what (e. g. I know what he thinks.).

The presentation of the relationships of verbs will be made by indicating at the head of each group what type of clause they take, for convenience stating the non-occurrences, since their number is smaller for most verbs. If a verb varies in its behaviour towards a certain clause type from component to component, the brackets beside it will contain either the component of non-occurrence, or the component of occurrence (preceded by '+'), depending on which number is smaller. If there are no brackets after a verb it means that it behaves identically throughout.

For easier reference, we shall first present the table of features and the types of clauses:

/Implied question/(negative)-----	1	da-that
/Direct question/(negative and affirmative)-----	2	šta-what
/Statement/(negative)-----	3	zašto-why
(affirmative)-----	4	kako-how
		kad-when
		gdje(kuda) - where
		da li-whether

(A more detailed analysis would have to take into consideration the tenses of the verbs with each type of clause, since there seem to be differences in that respect too.)

In this study the analysis of SC misliti and vjerovati and E think and believe will be restricted to the sentence construction V + THAT + Sentence, as the only relevant one. It does not mean, however, that they cannot enter other constructions as well.

Group I All types

SC	E
znati	know
čuti	hear
saznati	learn
doznati	be clear
razumjeti	understand
shvatiti	
biti jasno	

Group II: None

SC	E
poznati	can
poznavati	be able
umjeti	be capable
moći	
biti u stanju	
biti sposoban	

Group III: /Implied question/

SC	E
spoznati	realize
(na)učiti	be conscious
uvidjeti	notice
vjerovati	perceive
primijetiti	conceive
opaziti	
zapaziti	
uočiti	

Group IV: /-Direct question/

SC

spoznati

Group V: (-) da-that

SC

otkriti (/Implied question/)

E

grasp	]	(/Implied question/)
discover		
find out		
conceive		(/Direct question/)
make out		
get to know		(/Implied question/)

Group VI: (-) Šta-what

In both languages, provided a verb can occur <sup>in an</sup> indirect question, direct question, or statement, it can always take a šta-what-clause.

The exceptions are SC osjetiti (which does not take this type of clause in /Implied question/), and E feel (which does not take it at all).

Group VII: (-) zašto-why

SC

osjetiti

opaziti

E

be conscious (/Negative st. /)

feel

notice (/Affirmative statement/)

perceive (/Direct question/)

Group VIII: (-) kako-how

SC

osjetiti

E

realize (/Negative st. /)

recognize

feel

Group IX: (-) kad-when

SC

osjetiti

E

realize (/Direct question/)

Group IX (Cont'd.)

SC	E
uvidjeti	recognize
	be conscious (/ +Direct question/)
	feel

Group X: (-) gdje(kuda)-where

SC	E
osjetiti (/ +Affirmative st. /)	realize (/ Negative st. /)
opaziti	recognize (/ +Affirmative st. /)
	feel

Group XI: (-) da li-whether

SC	E
spoznati	comprehend
biti	grasp (/ +Implied question/)
svjestan	make out (/ Affirmative st. /)
(na)učiti (/ +Affirmative st. /)	realize
osjetiti (/ +Direct question/)	recognize
pojmiti (/ Affirmative st. /)	be conscious (/ +Affirmative st. /)
uvidjeti	be aware
	feel (/ Implied question/)
	conceive

From this list it would be relatively straightforward to establish the status of each verb with respect to the type of clause that they take, as well as the similarities and differences between them. If we, for example, take the SC verb spoznati, and the E verb realize, we shall see that spoznati does not occur in Implied questions and Direct questions and that it does not take whether-clauses in Negative statements and Affirmative statements; while realize does not occur in Implied questions, and it does not occur with the following type of clauses in Negative statements: whether-clause, how-clause, when-clause and where-clause and with when- and

whether-clauses in Affirmative statements. Thus we have established that they overlap in Negative statements with that-clauses and why-clauses and in Affirmative statements with that-, why-, how- and where-clauses.

The E verbs be conscious and be aware are interesting in that they take the preposition of obligatorily before some complement clauses, but not others. This also depends on whether the verb is used in Implied questions, Direct questions, Negative statements, or Affirmative statements. So that be conscious takes of obligatorily whenever it is used except with that-clauses and whether-clauses in Affirmative statements. Be aware takes of obligatorily with how-, when- and where-clauses in both Negative statements and Affirmative statements, with why- and whether-clauses in Affirmative statements and with what-clauses throughout.

### 3.4.3 A note on Factivity and V + Sentence Construction

It has been observed that the verbs of knowledge and understanding vary in factivity according to the V + Sentence construction that they enter. The following is the summary of results for the verbs that can occur in such constructions. The verbs have been tested with respect to the types of clauses discussed above, i. e. that-, what-, why-, how-, when-, where- and whether-clauses. The abbreviations are: F =factive, AC =affirmative committal, NC =negative committal, NF =non-factive. The non-occurrences in the table indicate that the verb does not normally enter, or (in the case of misliti/vjerovati and think/believe) that the verb is not considered in such constructions.

SC	that	what	why	how	when	where	whether
znati	F, NC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
čuti	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF
saznati	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
doznati	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
spoznati	F	F	F	F	F	F	
razumjeti	F, NF	F	F	F	F	F	NF
shvatiti	F, NF	F	F	F	F	F	NF
pojmiti	F	F	F	F	F	F	NF
biti svjestan	F	F	F	F	F	F	NF
biti jasno	F	F	F	F	F	F	NF
učiti	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF
vidjeti	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
uvidjeti	F	F	F	F		F	
misliti	NC						
vjerovati	NC						
osjetiti	NF	NF					NF
otkriti	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
primijetiti	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
opaziti	AC	F		F	F		NF
zapaziti	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
uočiti	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF



<u>E</u>	<u>that</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>why</u>	<u>how</u>	<u>when</u>	<u>where</u>	<u>whether</u>
know	F, NC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
understand	F, NF	F	F	F	F	F	NF
comprehend	F	F	F	F	F	F	
grasp	F	F	F	F	F	F	
realize	F	F	F	F	F	F	
recognize	F	F	F			F	
be clear	F	F	F	F	F	F	NF
be conscious	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
be aware	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
see	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
make out	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
hear	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF
learn( obt. inf. )	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
learn ( mem. )	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF
discover	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
feel	NF						NF
notice	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
perceive	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
conceive	NC	F	F	F	F	F	
think	NC						
believe	NC						
find out	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF
get to know	AC	F	F	F	F	F	NF

3.4.4 The construction V + Obj poses a great many questions with relation to the verbs of this semantic field. To state merely that some of these verbs do not take 'concrete' nouns as their objects is far from being satisfactory or adequate. There still remains a question of what kind of 'abstract' nouns they take. Also, as has become obvious, some verbs do not require this distinction at all, but impose very specific restrictions of an entirely different kind. Furthermore, the nouns taken as objects impose their own restrictions on the context in which they occur.

In this study a rather tentative and general picture has been formed as to what it is that restricts the occurrence of a noun with a particular verb.

To discuss the question of V + Obj constructions within this semantic field, we will have to draw upon features which will be defined in appropriate sections later, and, which, to avoid repetition, will only be referred to briefly here. All of them, however, involve presuppositions, so that, when we say, for example, that a verb has the feature /Complexity/ we mean that the verb presupposes complexity of the referent of the object<sup>4</sup>.

The procedure was to take from the material all the nouns occurring as objects and ask native speakers to indicate which verbs can be significantly used with which nouns, irrespective of the change in meaning. In this test 111 SC and 173 E nouns and nominal expressions as objects were considered. Objects like something, nothing, enough, too little, too much and that have also been included. The tests have shown that these are in fact generalized enough to be taken as objects by all the verbs in the group.

SC misliti and vjerovati as well as E think and believe will not be analyzed with respect to this construction, since their relevance for this analysis is particularly connected with V + THAT + Sentence

construction.

There are two verbs in SC that occur only in this construction, namely: poznavati ('know') and (pre)poznati ('recognize').

Let us, first of all, establish how the verbs differ with respect to objects marked as /Concrete/ and /Abstract/:

/Concrete/	/Abstract/	/Concrete/	/Abstract/
SC	SC	E	E
znati	znati	know	know
	čuti	understand	understand
	saznati	comprehend	comprehend
	doznati		grasp
	spoznati		realize
razumjeti	razumjeti	recognize	recognize
shvatiti	shvatiti	be conscious	be conscious
	pojmiti	be aware	be aware
biti svjestan	biti svjestan		see
	biti jasno		make out
poznavati	poznavati		hear
(pre)poznati	(pre)poznati	learn	learn
upoznati	upoznati	discover	discover
(na)učiti	(na)učiti		feel
	vidjeti		notice
	uvidjeti		perceive
otkriti	otkriti		conceive
	primjetiti		find out
	opaziti	get to know	get to know
zapaziti	zapaziti		be clear
	uočiti		
	osjetiti		
	biti jasno		

The verbs that can have both 'concrete' and 'abstract' objects have, however, various other restrictions.

SC znati and E know and be aware can take most nouns as their objects, which clearly relate to their being unspecified for most restrictions imposed by other verbs. Znati and know seem to differ in only one respect here: znati could not be used in the translation of the following passage (relating the meeting of brother and sister after a long period of time), unless the construction V + Object is changed into V + that + Sentence.

30. But in the same moment that secret nerve moved,  
I knew Lucy, and I was shocked by the voice of  
my 'good evening' ...  
'Lucy', I cried, 'have you been ill?'  
'You didn't know me', Lucy said. 'I'm not  
surprised.' (P 85.1)

Know would here have to be translated by poznati, which corresponds to E recognize, but is narrower in meaning.

It is, however, the relation of SC znati, saznati and doznati, and E know and learn to the feature: /Direct information/ (see p.170) that I would like to discuss briefly here, with particular reference to the question of their correlation with the prepositions (SC) za and o, and (E) of and about.

We shall consider a selected number of nouns employed as objects, and see how these verbs behave in their environment with and without the prepositions in question. We shall, that is to say, try to establish under what circumstances the meaning of the verbs is restricted either to information gained by direct observation or to information gained from a third source, indirectly. We shall also try to establish when the meaning of the verbs stays unspecified.

The symbol '+' signifies / + Direct information/. The symbol '-' signifies / - Direct information/.

Noun - ) object pronoun - )	without preposition	prep. <u>za-of</u>	prep. <u>o-about</u>
SC mi ( we )	/ +/ znati know	/ -/ znati know	/ +/ znati know
E Robert		saznati learn	saznati learn
E this new world		doznati	doznati
SC događaj ( event )	/ +/ znati	/ -/ saznati	/ +/ znati
E his plots	know	doznati learn	doznati learn
SC njihov logor ( their camp )	/ +/ znati	/ -/ saznati	/ +/ znati
SC magacini ( stores )	know	doznati learn	ALL
E his condition	/ +/ znati, know learn saznati doznati	/ -/ saznati doznati learn	/ +/ ALL
SC njegova prošlost ( his past )	/ +/ znati know saznati doznati learn	/ -/ saznati doznati learn	/ +/ znati know saznati doznati learn

Object	without preposition	prep. <u>za-of</u>	prep. <u>o-about</u>
SC njegovo mišljenje (his opinion)	/+/ ALL	/+/ znati know	/-/ ALL saznati doznati learn
SC vijesti (news)	/-/ znati saznati doznati	----- /-/------ /-/ know	
SC patnja (suffering)	/+/ znati know	/+/ znati know	/+/ ALL saznati doznati learn
SC odluke (decisions)	/+/ znati know	/+/ znati know	/-/ saznati doznati learn
SC naredbe (instructions)	/+/ znati know learn	/+/ znati know	/-/ saznati doznati learn
SC propagande	/+/ znati know	/+/ znati know	/-/ saznati doznati learn

Object	without preposition	prep. <u>za-of</u>	prep. <u>o-about</u>
SC život (life)	/ 4/ znati know		/ +/ ALL
E debt		/ +/ znati know	/ -/ znati know
			/ -/ saznati doznati learn
E land			/ +/ ALL
E root-pruning	/ 4/ znati know learn	/ +/ znati know	/ +/ ALL
			/ -/ saznati doznati



From this we can conclude the following:

1. that znati and know express, in the environment of the prepositions za and of followed by an animate noun as object, information indirectly obtained, i. e. information obtained through somebody else and not by direct, personal observation. Otherwise they are generally unspecified with respect to the feature /Direct information/. Consider the following examples:

- 31.(a) Znajući za njegovu patnju (...) ljudi su prelazili preko toga i ćutali. (DS 35.13)

Knowing what he had suffered (...) the men did not go further than this and kept quiet. (tr. p. 37)

- (b) On zna za magacine, bolnice, bez njega odred ne može da obstane. (DS 388.4)

He knows where the stores are, and the hospital, the company couldn't survive without him. (tr. p. 369)

- (c) Po njihovom izgledu činilo mu se da oni već znaju za odluke koje namerava da im saopšti. (DS140.22)

From their appearance it seemed to him that they already knew the decision about which he intended to inform them. (tr. p. 138)

- (d) Budućnost neće znati za nas. (DS 64.17)

The future will not know of us. (My tr.)

- (e) What astonished us was that Bill had known of his condition when he took the cottage. (P259.19)

(We can take it for granted that in 31(a, b, c) the possible translation may be rendered in the form V + of + Object rather than V + Sentence or V + Object.)

If we look closely how znati and know relate to the feature /Direct information/ we shall be able to see that in all but (31d) they can be marked as unspecified. (31d) is marked /-Direct information/.

There seem to be at least two reasons for this. One is that the object is animate, which seems to influence the distinction, and the other is the contemporaneity of the events referred to by the subject and object. This second reason also holds true for the verbs saznati, doznati and learn. In (31d) the subject and the object are non-contemporaneous: Subject/ +Future/ -Object/ -Future/.

Consider further two examples for contemporaneity.

- 32.(a) Pošto Nikola nije bio saznao za događaj sa  
Acom Vuk mu u nekoliko riječi ispriča.  
 (adapted original DS192.14)

Since Nikola had not learnt about Aca, Vuk told him in a few words what had happened.  
 (My tr.)

- (b) Pavle (...) nije ni sam znao njegovu prošlost  
 i zanimanje.  
 Paul himself did not know his past or his occupation. (My tr.)

While in (32b) the subject and the object may but need not be contemporaneous, in (32a) they are non-contemporaneous:

- (32a): Subject/ -Past/ -----Object/ +Past/  
 (32b): Subject/ <sup>+</sup> Past/ -----Object/ +Past/

2. It is also interesting to notice that the noun news is itself marked / -Direct information/ and, taken as object, would influence the context to be invariably marked as such. For example:

33. 'Znate li za nove vesti sa fronta?' (DS 20.20)  
 'Do you know the latest news from the Front?'  
 (my tr.)

3. As can be seen from the chart above on pp. 70-72, SC saznati and doznati and E learn are marked / -Direct information/

when they are followed by the prepositions za and of. The fact that they are /+Perfective/ in these contexts, as well as the fact that the prepositions za and of, as opposed to o and about, can indicate a very slight amount of information, may provide an explanation for this phenomenon.

I will now proceed to list the features figuring as restrictions of verbs on their objects. These restrictions are generally the same as those established for a whole context. As always, it should be stressed that the restrictions established here have been encountered within the material at hand, so that some significant ones may have been left unnoticed.

I /+Direct information/ ---- (see p.170)

SC	E
spoznati	recognize
(na)učiti	be conscious
(pre)poznati	perceive
poznavati	realize
upoznati	make out
primijetiti	learn (in the sense of 'memorizing')
opaziti	feel
zapaziti	notice
uočiti	conceive
osjetiti	
uvidjeti	

II /-Direct information/: (abstract nouns: not those implying sound e.g.: lecture, music, etc.)

SC	E
čuti	hear
saznati	learn
doznati	get to know

III / +Creative/ (abstract)

E

conceive

IV / -Creative/ (abstract)

E

realize

V / -Effort/ (see p. 191 ) (abstract)

SC

E

opaziti

notice

primijetiti

VI / +Memory/ / -Repetitive/ (see p. 147) (concrete and abstract)

SC

E

(pre)poznati

recognize

VII (-Memory)

SC

E

otkriti (concrete and abstract) discover (concrete and abstract)

make out (abstract)

find out (abstract)

VIII / +Complexity/ (concrete-inanimate or abstract) (see p. 157)

SC

E

razumjeti

understand

shvatiti

comprehend

pojmiti

grasp

biti jasno

be clear

make out

conceive

IX / +Implications/ (see p. 161) (abstract)

E

grasp

X /+Sympathy/ (see p.157 ) (concrete-animate)

SC	E
razumjeti	understand
shvatiti	comprehend

XI /+Thinking/ (see p. 153 ) (abstract)

SC	E
saznati	realize
spoznati	

XII /+Memory: Cumulative/ (see p. 169) (abstract)

SC	E
(na)učiti	learn

XIII /+Persuasion/ (see p. 153 ) (abstract)

SC	E
uvidjeti	realize

XIV /+Details/ (see p. 165) (concrete and abstract)

SC	
poznavati	
upoznati	

XV /+Distinguished object/ (concrete and abstract)

SC	
zapaziti	

Only a small group of verbs of this semantic field can take the word language (in general), or the name of any language (in particular) as their object. These are:

SC	E
znati	know
razumjeti	understand
(na)učiti	learn

While (na)učiti and learn are in most contexts consequentially related to the rest of the group, i. e.

(na)učiti )		znati
)	-----	razumjeti
)		know
learn )		understand

the remaining four are contemporaneous with respect to each other.

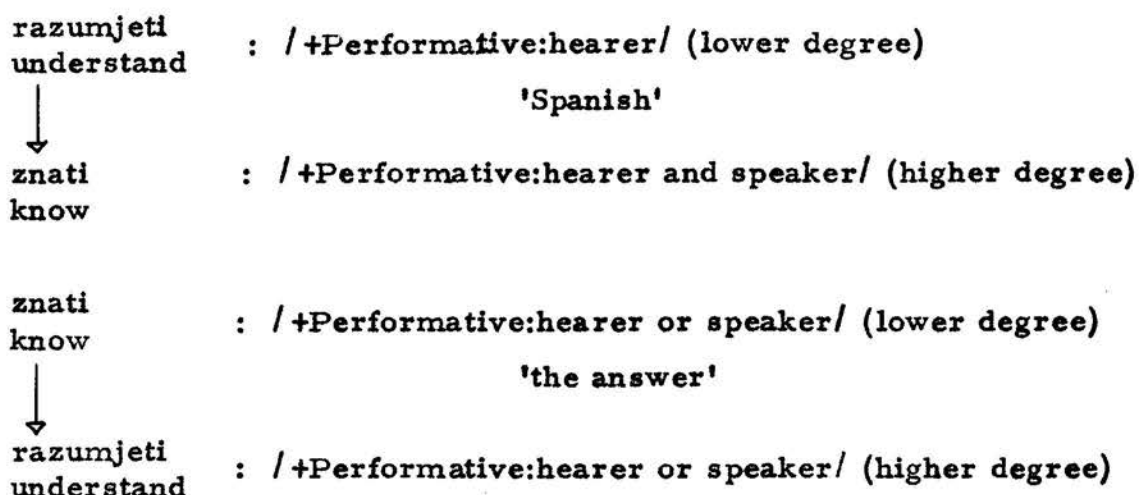
In these contexts razumjeti and understand relate to znati and know in a significantly different way from their relationship otherwise. As we shall see later, (see p. 154 ) razumjeti and understand in other contexts signify a higher degree of knowledge, involving reasoning and analysis. The difference between such contexts and the ones involving language is obvious in the following examples:

- 34(a) I know the answer but I don't understand it.  
 (b) I understand Spanish but I don't know it. (I  
 can't speak it.)

What is significant here is that the values are reversed as to what degree of knowledge is considered necessary for a successful performance of an individual. With respect to 'language contexts' like (34b), the notion 'performance' can, however, be divided into the performance of an individual as a hearer, and the performance of him as a speaker. Understanding a language can be a successful performance for a person as a hearer, whereas for a successful performance as a speaker he must both understand and speak a language.

In contexts like (34a) the required performance is of a different nature in that no distinction need necessarily be made in terms of speaker and hearer. In such contexts, however, understanding (as opposed to knowing) something indicates a higher degree of knowledge.

The relationships of (34a) and (34b) can be represented in a diagram as follows:



This relationship holds true for sentences like (34a-b) above where one clause is affirmative and the other negative. Notice that, because of this difference in the degree of knowledge in (34a) and (34b), it is impossible to negate the first clause and make the second one affirmative. However, it is possible to make both clauses in (34a-b) affirmative and still preserve the difference in the degree of knowledge, by stressing the conjunction:

35. (a) I know the answer and I understand it.

(b) I understand Spanish and I know it (and I can speak it).

3.4.5 And, finally, we should briefly mention the V + V construction, characteristic of some verbs in this group, namely SC umjeti, moći, biti u stanju and biti sposoban, and E can, be able and be capable. We can call them 'Skill verbs'. As such they require another verb to express the kind of ability being referred to (i. e. I am able to swim, I am not able to think). SC znati and (na)učiti and E know and learn also occur in these contexts. The difference between SC znati and the E know here is that know takes how obligatorily, while with znati, kako occurs optionally in 'skill' contexts where the stress is on the way of doing things.

For example:

36. SC Znao sam (kako) da mu odgovorim.

E I knew how to answer him.

The V + V construction comes in SC in the form: V(present or past) + da + V (present), and in E in the form: V(present or past) + V (inf) (except for be capable of, which comes in the form: V(present or past) + of + present participle).

Further differences between the 'skill verbs' will be discussed in the appropriate section (see p.197 ).



## FOOTNOTES

1. It will be noted that I have distinguished between postati svjestan, postati jasno, and biti svjestan, biti jasno in SC and also between become and be conscious - clear - aware<sup>inE</sup>, since they obviously involve different aspectual features. So, for example, while become clear can have either the feature /Process/ or the feature /Event/, be clear can be either /State/ or /Event/. In SC, however, there is also an aspectual difference between postati (perfective) and postajati (imperfective), so that the first can figure as /Process/ or /Event/, while the second is only marked as /Process/.
2. J. Lyons suggests that the criterion for the subfeature /Repetitive/ could be the fact that it is possible to use verbs marked for this feature in complements of keep, for example: 'I keep hearing that he is ill'.
3. It may well be that there are particular situations in which some of the collocations of adverbials with particular tenses here said to be unacceptable might occur. I am assuming, however, that at least the more usual range of occurrence is covered by my informants' responses.
4. It must be borne in mind throughout this section (and indeed throughout the whole study) that the restrictions found to apply significantly to the items of this semantic field might not have any bearing on (and might even be opposite to) the requirements of other semantic fields which some of these items enter.

## APPENDIX

### ADVERBIALS

#### A: How often? Frequency of occurrence

- A1: non-occurrence: never (nikad)  
A2: single occurrence: once before (jednom ranije)  
A3: fresh occurrence: once more (još jednom)  
A4: rare occurrence: almost never (skoro nikad)  
A5: occasional occurrence: a few times (nekoliko puta)  
A6: frequent occurrence: often (često)  
A7: usual occurrence: almost always (skoro uvijek)  
A8: regular occurrence: annually (godišnje)  
A9: How often? How Long? continuous occurrence: all the time (cijelo vrijeme)

#### B: How long? Restricted duration

- B1: limits of duration explicit or known: all that day (cijeli taj dan)  
B2: end-point of duration known: so far (dosad)  
B3: contemporaneous present: for the moment (trenutno)  
B4: beginning point of duration known: from now on (od sad)  
B5: limits of duration not known: for ages (dugo vremena)

#### C: When? Time reference explicit

- C1: in future: any moment now (svakog trenutka)  
C2: in present: (a) contemporaneous: at present (trenutno)  
(b) simultaneous: right now (upravo sad)  
C3: in past: (a) removed, specified time: earlier this week  
(početkom sedmice)  
(b) recent: just now (upravo sad)  
C4: in daytime period: this morning (jutros)  
C5: unspecified as to past, present or future: all in good time  
(sve u svoje vrijeme)

APPENDIX - continued

D, E, F: When? Require previously explicit time reference

D: Time referred to precedes explicit time reference

D1: non-specific overall: already (već)

D2: immediate: on the eve of (uoči)

D3: end point known: by then (dotle)

D4: specific: a day earlier (dan ranije)

E: Time referred to is simultaneous with explicit time reference:

at that age (u to doba)

F: Time referred to follows explicit time reference

F1: immediate, non-specific: all of a sudden (odjednom)

F2: removed non-specific: a short while afterwards (uskoro  
poslije toga)

F3: end-point known: finally (konačno)

F4: overall period: after that (poslije toga)

F5: specific: a day later (dan kasnije)

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MODALITY

4.1 One of the most significant characteristics of language expression is without doubt modality. Although, in its broadest sense, it is by no means confined to verbs, in this study we shall focus our attention on the SC and E verbs of knowledge and understanding in order to see how modality is reflected in the network of their sense-relations.

The concept of modality is a very complex one. It can be expressed overtly by modal verbs like can, be able, may, but it can also be present and affect various other expressions in language, for example those that signify intention or volition. Furthermore, as will be seen, its presence can be inherent in a verb, and that, in fact, is the type of modality that we shall concentrate on in this study.

Perhaps at this point we could proceed to ask and try to find an answer to the question: what does modality involve?

In his article 'A Note on Modality in English (Modals and 'Pseudo-Modals')', (mimeographed, forthcoming) M. A. K. Halliday distinguishes between 'pseudo-modality' and 'modality-proper' with respect to the modal auxiliaries can, could, may, might, will, would, should, must, ought to and need. His distinction is based on the fact that these modal verbs can be employed in language either to express a comment on <sup>some</sup> content or to serve as part of a content. He labels these notions 'modality-proper' and 'pseudo-modality' respectively. To quote Halliday: 'Whereas in the modals the process is qualified by an assessment of the speaker, in the pseudo-modals the qualifying factor is in the situation (or, better, in the thesis).'

Being part of the content, 'pseudo-modals' have tense, while 'modals-proper', as comments, are tenseless. The difference between 'pseudo-modals' and 'modals-proper' is reflected in the ambiguity of John could have done it (Halliday's example), which 'can be interpreted either modally 'possibly John did it' or pseudo-modally 'John would have been able to do it'.'

Halliday then concludes as follows: 'There are thus grounds for considering that, while a number of different meanings need to be recognized to account for the various uses of the modal auxiliaries, the distinction between 'true' modality, as an aspect of 'speaker's comment' deriving from the interpersonal function of language; and 'pseudo-modality', which is part of the material of the content and derives from the factual-notional, or 'experiential' function of language, is the most significant of the distinctions that can be made.'<sup>\*</sup>

But what is particularly important (and Halliday does not overlook the fact) is that the two types of modality can overlap to a very great extent: 'This is not to suggest a sharp boundary between them; there are many areas where pairs of language functions overlap and interact, and this is one of them. It is not difficult to understand that modality and pseudo-modality show overlapping realisations; the modalities of the 'real world' and those of the speaker's estimation have much in common.'

However, very often the difference between two kinds of pseudo-modality is contextually neutralised, that is to say, they are brought together in a linguistic expression in such a way that it becomes irrelevant in the context whether one or the other kind of modality is involved. I am here thinking of expressions which for the most part do not employ modal auxiliaries. For example in (1) it is not

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\* See also Halliday (1970).

made explicit whether comprehension (or failure to comprehend) was due to the speaker's powers of comprehension or to some property of the external situation to which he is referring:

1. I understood (didn't understand) what he was saying.

The point here is that in some contexts what actually happened is more important than the factors that have (or have not) brought it about: in this example whether possibility or ability is the cause. Furthermore, two or more factors can be equally influential during a certain action. Contextual neutralisation is, in general, a phenomenon not to be overlooked in language analysis. (See Lyons (1968 : 453) )

Halliday's distinction between modality and pseudo-modality depends basically, therefore, upon whether the speaker is commenting upon a situation or participating in it. It seems to me, that participating in and commenting upon are related to each other not merely as 'having much in common', as Halliday puts it, but also in that participating is in some instances included in commenting in the following sense. While participating involves the participant and the situation, the commenting involves the commentator, the participant and the situation. (This, of course, does not mean that the commentator and the participant cannot refer to one and the same person. That is one of the reasons why the distinction between the speaker and the subject of a sentence is necessary. We shall come back to this distinction when discussing the feature /Speaker's knowledge/, (see p.94 ).)

4.2 The relationship between various kinds of modality is also discussed by Geoffrey N. Leech (1969). Discussing features of pseudo-modality such as 'permission', 'obligation', 'ability', 'possibility' and 'necessity', he comes to the conclusion that 'we may go so far as to claim, in fact, that 'possibility' and 'necessity' logically include 'permission' and 'obligation' - that 'permission' is a

particular kind of 'possibility', and 'obligation' a particular kind of 'necessity'. So:

'I am permitted to open this letter' implies 'It is possible for me to open this letter'.

'I am obliged to open this letter' implies 'It is necessary for me to open this letter'. ' (1969: 218)

It is also evident that causation<sup>\*</sup> implies possibility:

2. 'I made John realize that he should work hard' implies 'It was possible for John to realize that he should work hard'.

This relation of logical implication, however, does not hold between possibility and some other kinds of 'pseudo-modality', namely intention and volition:

3. 'I try to know everything that is going on' does not necessarily imply 'It is possible for me to know everything that is going on'.

4. 'I want John to learn history' does not necessarily imply 'It is possible for John to learn history'.

The relationships of phrases in (2), (3) and (4) are, however, essentially different. In (3) and (4) the first expression is unspecified with relation to 'permission'. The first expression in (2) is inverse of the second (see also Leech (1969:208)), since 'possibility' implies choice and 'causation' does not.

At this point attention should be drawn briefly to the fact that contextual neutralisation (mentioned above) depends on the relation

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\* Leech (1969:208) distinguishes between 'weak causation' (i. e. 'permission') and 'strong causation' which is expressed by verbs like make or compel. I am using the term 'causation' in the latter sense here.



of implication. That is to say, two aspects of modality can be neutralised in a context only if one implies the other. In 'I didn't understand what he was saying', 'I wasn't capable of understanding him' implies 'It was impossible for me to understand him'.

4.3 What is, then, the answer to our question: what does modality involve? A broad and general answer would be the following:

- (a) It, first of all, involves factors like the speaker and (what Halliday calls) a content;
- (b) It involves, in a very significant way, the distinction between the speaker and the subject of the sentence;
- (c) It reflects the distinction between the speaker as a commentator and the speaker as a participant;
- (d) As a result of (c) (i. e. the division of the speaker's role) it is possible to express linguistically either a comment on a situation or participation in a situation on the part of the speaker. (Rather than adopting Halliday's terminology, we shall refer to these two phenomena as objective and subjective modality respectively.)
- (e) Contextual neutralisation of different kinds of modality is the result of two kinds of modality standing in relation of implication.
- (f) Some aspects of modality do not necessarily stand in relation of implication.

4.4 Before we go on to discuss subjective modality in detail, we shall merely exemplify one aspect of subjective modality, i. e. 'possibility'.

The overt form by which 'possibility' is most clearly expressed is 'can \_\_\_\_' or 'it is possible to \_\_\_\_'. On examination it was found that all the verbs of this semantic field can occur in such environment. Here are the most obvious examples of 'possibility' found in the material:



5. (a) U zoru, ni on ni ostali partizani nisu mogli znati da li zbog neopreznosti i nepaznje, pogrešno ocenjenog položaja ili nečeg drugog, četa je uletela u nemačku zasedu. (DS152.23)
- At dawn, the platoon fell right into a German ambush - neither he nor the others could tell whether it was due to carelessness or inattention, a false estimate of their position, or some other cause. (tr. p.150)
- (b) Psiholozi oдавно poklanjaju pažnju jezičkim pojavama smatrajući da se preko njih može najpouzdanije doznati ono što je neposredan predmet psiholoških studija. (PL120.2)
- The psychologists started paying attention to linguistic phenomena long ago, in the belief that through them one could learn most definitely what is the immediate subject of psychological studies. (my tr.)
- (c) Izbori, naravno, nisu zakazani odmah posle osnivanja Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (...) jer Aleksandru nije odmah bilo jasno na koje će sve ljude moći da se osloni. (NIN62)
- The elections were, of course, not announced immediately after the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, since it was not immediately clear to Alexander which men he could rely on. (my tr.)
- (d) Može neko da ga prepozna. (DS162.27)
- It was possible that someone there would recognize him. (tr. p.159)
- (e) We could not know that events within a few years would prove the southern ape to be the human ancestor. (AG28.12)
- (f) Say that the children cannot know what they are talking about until they have lived their lives. (P40.7)
- (g) And I could not know how that break would affect her. (P304.19)

- (h) I could not understand then, as I do now, that to the old, a broken marriage is little more than a broken knee in a child. (P85.25)
- (i) No one can understand that private quality of life (...) who has not known it in himself. (P99.12)
- (j) 'It is impossible for her to understand me or me to argue with her.' (P141.25)
- (k) I moved among the crowd with that sense of separateness and importance which one perceives still in young men at that critical age. (P141.30)

In (5) it is shown that 'possibility' can be expressed covertly as well. See examples (5c) and (5k). It is obvious that the rest of the examples in (5) can also be switched over to the covert form, but as a result an ambiguity between 'possibility' and 'ability' would arise. The obvious disambiguation, where necessary, is achieved by overt forms of expressing 'possibility'.

4.5 Now that we have summarised in general terms what the concept of modality involves, and exemplified one aspect of it, i. e. 'possibility', we can go on to examine some particular aspects of subjective modality, trying to concentrate on those that have emerged in the analysis of the verbs of knowledge and understanding, within the limits of data collected.

I will give my own examples where necessary, to compensate for the lack of the appropriate ones in the material.

Since these aspects of modality can be recognised as features that the verbs have in common, or can be distinguished by, in this study I will refer to them by this term.

4.5.1 We have seen above, in Chapter IV, that the speaker's role in the system of modality is highly relevant and central. We have

also mentioned that because of this role it was necessary to distinguish between the speaker and the subject of the sentence. The distinction is normally neutralised in contexts where both the speaker and the subject of a sentence are in the first person singular or plural. However, since we are not able, in the majority of cases, to express a collective judgement (assessment) of a situation, the first person plural is less readily accepted to indicate the role of commentator.

This leaves us with the first person singular which can represent both the speaker and the subject of the sentence.

6. (a) I didn't know John then.

The person referred to by 'I' is both the speaker and the subject of the sentence. But, let us examine the same sentence changing only one item, namely 'I':

6. (b) You (singular)	]	didn't know John then.
(c) He		
(d) We		
(e) You (plural)		
(f) They		

It is obvious that the speaker and the subject of the sentence are most clearly distinguished in (6b) and (6e) where the subject of the sentence is in the second person singular and plural. These are, in particular, cases of the hearer's direct involvement. By 'direct' I mean the involvement resulting in the hearer being addressed by the speaker.

If considered as 'reported' or 'direct' speech, (6b) and (6e) can be phrased as follows:

6. (g) I said to him (them): 'You didn't know John then'.

Here the distinction between the speaker ('I') and the subject of the sentence ('You') is explicitly marked. The distinction is explicitly retained even if (6g) is phrased as 'indirect' speech: 'I said to him (them) that he (they) hadn't known John then (at that

time).'

(6e) is interesting in that it is possible in some cases to interpret 'he' both as the speaker and the subject of the sentence. Admittedly, this interpretation is perhaps more frequent in literary works. If an author, for example, is writing an autobiographical novel he may choose to express his own experiences, thoughts and comments indirectly, by the third person singular. Undoubtedly, this means an at least partial detachment, which in turn can lead to the separation of the speaker and the subject of the sentence, but that separation is fictitious in the sense that the speaker and the subject of the sentence still have the same reference. A particularly good example of the interchangeability of the first and the third person singular, in which the referential identity is retained, can be found in Günther Grass's novel 'The Tin Drum', where Oscar is referred to as either 'I' or 'he': 'I had no need to calm down for I was already calm, awaiting things to come in a state of almost complete self-immersion. To be perfectly truthful, Oscar gave barely a thought to what the future might hold in store, for he required no distraction. Let us say, then, that he was not waiting but just sitting at his desk, pleasantly aware that his drum was where it belonged and otherwise preoccupied with the clouds behind paschcally polished window-panes (...) Tearing myself away from the clouds which obviously had no school that day, I leapt to my feet, pulled my drum sticks out from under my suspenders, and loudly, emphatically drummed out the time of the song.' (pp. 74-75) (translated from the German by Ralph Manheim, published by Penguin Books).

In everyday speech, however, the referential identity of the speaker and the third person singular as the subject of the sentence is less usual, although possible. For example, it is possible to imagine a situation where, in a group of people, A overhears B asking C: 'Has A heard the news?', to which A himself answers 'Yes, he has!'

The subject of (6d) implies that one of the group referred to by 'We' is the speaker. Taking for granted that a common assessment of a situation has taken place, it (the assessment) is reported by one speaker. The same holds true for (6f): the speaker is one of the group referred to by 'They' in the same kind of context as the one mentioned in connection with (6e).

Having thus established that various interpretations are possible for the subject of the sentence in the third person singular and plural and in the first person plural with relation to the role of the speaker, let us grant the following:

I The most usual, or most readily acceptable assumption is that the speaker is referred to by the first person singular;

II The notion of the speaker's role is normally one of singularity rather than plurality;

III The distinction between the speaker and the subject of the sentence is most readily observable when the subject of the sentence is in the second person singular or plural.

4.5.2 On the basis of what has been said so far we can assert (what is well recognized in linguistic theory) that the speaker (or 'ego') is the central figure in the modal system of language expression. But what about the hearer?

From the examples given above (6a-f) we can conclude, first of all, that he is identifiable as referentially identical with the subject in the second person singular and plural, and, secondly, that he is only then explicitly referred to. The referential non-identity is implied when the subject of the sentence is in the first and the third person singular and in the third person plural, but it is not implied in the first person plural.

We shall here restrict our attention to the notion of hearer in cases where he is referred to explicitly, i. e. when the subject of the

sentence is in the second person singular or plural.

4.6 Closely related to the notion of centrality of the speaker's role, and indeed dependent on it, is the feature to which we shall refer as /Speaker's knowledge/. It is a presupposition which is inherent in some verbs and only contextual in others.<sup>1</sup> It can be best explained by examining a few examples from both languages:

7. (a) 'Znaš li ti da je danas Nova Godina?' (DS39.21)  
- 'Do you know that it is New Year's Day to-day?' (my tr.)<sup>\*</sup>
- (b) 'Stiglo pismo od tate. I znaš šta piše, Učo?' (DS324.23)  
- 'I had a letter from your father. And do you know what he says, Prof?' (tr. p.310)
- (c) 'Znaš šta bih radio?' - Šapnu Šilja Vuksanu. (DS335.23)  
- 'Do you know what I'd like to do?', whispered Šilja to Vuksan. (tr. p.320)
- (d) 'Znaš li ti, bre, šta si učinio s nama? Znaš li ti: da Vuk nekad nije bio 'sokolovac', svi bi mi propali zbog tebe.' (DS225.35)  
- 'Do you know what you did to us? And do you know this: if Vuk hadn't been a member of the 'Sokol' (Falcon) gymnastic club before the war, we'd have all had it because of you.' (tr. p.217-218)
- (e) 'Znate sta, ljudi', - nastavi Djordje, 'šala na stranu, sve me nešto golica da joj večeras kucnem na prozor.' (DS380.4)  
- 'I'll tell you what, chaps', continued George, 'joking apart, it would just tickle my fancy to tap on her window to-night.' (tr. p.361)
- (f) 'Ne kažem, druže Pavle, da su drugarice kukavice. Pa znaš i sam: žene su žene!' (DS78.10)

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<sup>\*</sup> The Heppell-Mihajlović translation 'Do you know, (...), it's New Year's Day to-day?' (p. 41) did not seem quite adequate.



- 'I never said the girls were cowards, Comrade Paul.  
But you know yourself: women are women!' (tr. p. 79)
- (g) 'And do you know where Master Robert is now?'  
(P. 319. 31)
- (h) 'Don't you realize that you might lose us the election?'  
(P. 155. 34)
- (i) 'But, Uncle Tom, you don't realize - '(...)' He doesn't  
care one farthing for Tolbrook or you.' (P. 329. 43)
- (j) 'Don't you know ribs don't bend?' (P. 107. 39)
- (k) 'Don't you see that Lucy enjoyed it?' (P. 100. 29)
- (l) I notice a half crown lying on the pavement, but I do  
not realize that the boy has dropped it. (P. 189. 18)
- (m) 'Did you run away from us to scrub floors?'  
'Oh, no, Tommy, you know why I ran away - '  
'Lucy, you don't really mean to marry that man.'  
'That is for God to say.'  
'You mean for him, Brown, to say. Do you know what  
he is with women?' (P. 59. 35)

Let us first consider (7g). This sentence, considered in isolation from the context of situation, can be interpreted in two ways: the person asking the question knows where Master Robert is (and is offering to convey that information to his audience) or he does not (and he is seeking the information). Unless the context of situation is provided we will not be able to deduce from the sentence itself whether the speaker is willing to impart information or whether he is seeking it. (But see be aware, p. 151 )

Within the dialogue (7m), the sentence 'Do you know what he is with women?' indicates certainly that the speaker possesses the information and the question itself may be taken as the initiation of a further stage in the dialogue during which the speaker will reveal to the hearer what he knows. But, outside the context of situation, the sentence is neutral as to one or the other interpretation.

There are, however, instances of unambiguous sentences even outside the context of situation. If we look at examples (7a - e) we shall be able to observe that znati and know unambiguously reveal that the speaker possesses the knowledge. The possession of knowledge is indeed strongly suggested here since the speaker is expressing his own thoughts ((7c), (7e)), his own experience ((7b), (7d)), or acknowledging some objective fact (7a). Notice that, if we replaced 'you' by 'he' and 'us' by 'them' in the first sentence of (7d), that sentence would immediately become unspecified with relation to the feature /Speaker's knowledge/. Or, if we replaced 'I' by 'he' in (7c), that sentence, too, would become unspecified. Thus the centrality of the speaker becomes crucial here, since the reference to his own thoughts and experience assigns to the context and the verb itself the feature /Speaker's knowledge/. It indicates, consequently, that, as far as he, the speaker, is concerned, such information is, of necessity more reliable than, for example, information obtained by hearsay. To rephrase it, we can conclude that direct involvement of the speaker, expressed linguistically to refer to his own thoughts or experiences, automatically influences such an expression towards the positive specification with relation to /Speaker's knowledge/.

But, by this we have not accounted for (7a), since it expresses neither thoughts nor experience of the speaker. It is obvious that the speaker knows that 'it's New Year's Day to-day', or else he would not have been in a position to ask this question. But is this interpretation really the only one? Examples readily spring to mind in support of the argument that it is not. For example, two men lost in a forest for months without means of communication with civilization may start wondering eventually what date it is, unless they have kept a record. One of them says: 'It's New Year's Day to-day!', the other answers incredulously: 'Do you



know that it's New Year's Day today (i. e. 'have you kept a record'), or are you just guessing?' The stress on know here would emphasize the doubt of the speaker and the contrast between know and guess.

But why is it more difficult to accept the second interpretation? First of all, the normal setting of (7a) is, broadly speaking, a society in which a time record is kept and available to its members. That could be a non-linguistic, situational explanation, but is there a linguistic explanation for it?

Linguistically, we can argue that certain expressions in language reflect, normally, factuality rather than speculation. Such expressions are that-clauses preceded by a factive verb like know (except where know is explicitly or implicitly contrasted with some other verb indicating less than complete certainty). (The relation of the verbs of knowledge and understanding and various types of clauses has been discussed above, see p. 59 ). This argument, if not the only one, is one of those that go a long way towards explaining language phenomena related to expressions like (7a).

(7f) is similar to (7a) but it also reflects the speaker's experience, as well as the implication 'I know that you know, I'm merely reminding you of it', which is rendered and stressed by the presence of the pronoun 'yourself' (SC 'i sam').

Before we go on to look at the rest of the examples under (7), it is necessary to examine the verbs more closely in order to see how they behave when they are followed by different types of clauses. We have seen how know and znati behave with a that-clause, and with a what-clause. But what about whether-, how-, why-, where-, when-clauses? Also, do they behave in the same way in direct questions and in negative statements? And how is the rest of the group related?

The verbs have been tested by adding 'neither do I' and 'I do' at the end of the direct question, and 'neither do I', 'but I do' at the end of the negative statement.

It has been found that, with five exceptions, the verbs behave in the same way in direct questions and negative statements. That is to say, the context containing them will in both cases either presuppose the feature /Speaker's knowledge/, or not, depending on the specification of the verb with respect to this feature. It also seems, that some of the verbs are, with some clauses, negatively specified.

The tests have shown that a large number of verbs of this group are unspecified with respect to /Speaker's knowledge/ when followed by any of the seven types of clauses mentioned above. These verbs are the following:

#### GROUP I

SC	E
čuti	hear
biti jasno	be clear
otkriti	make out
primijetiti	be aware
zapaziti	learn
uočiti	discover
vidjeti	notice
	find out
	get to know
	see
	perceive

#### Examples:

- 8(a) SC (i) Jesi li ti čuo da (da li, zašto, kad)  
je on došao?  
(ii) Ja nisam .... ?  
(iii) Ja jesam .... ?

- E (i) Have you heard that (whether, why, when)  
he came?  
(ii) I haven't ... ?  
(iii) I have ... ?
- (b) SC (i) Jesi li čuo šta se dogodilo?  
(ii) Ja nisam ... ?  
(iii) Ja jesam ... ?  
(i) Jesi li čuo kako (gdje) se to dogodilo?  
(ii) Ja nisam ... ?  
(iii) Ja jesam ... ?
- E (i) Have you heard what has happened?  
(ii) I haven't ... ?  
(iii) I have ... ?  
(i) Have you heard how (where) that happened?  
(ii) I haven't ... ?  
(iii) I have ... ?

(Since it is assumed that, apart from the exceptions which will be discussed below, the verbs behave similarly in direct questions and negative statements, examples have been given in the form of a direct question.)

Tested by the same method, the rest of the verbs of this subgroup will also prove to be unspecified for the feature /Speaker's knowledge/.

## GROUP II

The verbs of Group II do not readily take whether-clauses in direct questions and statements. They are positively specified for this feature in that-clauses, and unspecified otherwise.

The verbs are:

SC	E
razumjeti	understand
shvatiti	comprehend
pojmiti	grasp

Examples:

9. (a) SC (i) Shvataš li ti da je to opasan posao?

(ii) \*Ja ne shvatam ... ?

(iii) Ja shvatam ... ?

E (i) Do you understand that that job is dangerous?

(ii) \*I don't ... ?

(iii) I do ... ?

(b) SC (i) Shvataš li ti šta (kako, zašto, gdje, kad)  
se to dogodilo?

(ii) Ja ne shvatam ... ?

(iii) Ja shvatam ?

E (i) Do you understand what has happened?

how	]	that happened?
why		
where		
when		

(ii) I don't ... ?

(iii) I do ... ?

### GROUP III

These verbs do not take whether-clauses in direct question and negative statement. They are positively specified for this feature otherwise:

E

realize

recognize

Examples:

10. E (i) Do you realize how

why	]	that happened?
where		
when		

(ii) \*I don't ... ?

(iii) I do ... ?

(In a different kind of context, a context meaning 'to acknowledge', recognize would prove to have the same characteristics.)

#### GROUP IV

There are two verbs in E that do not take whether-clauses, but are otherwise unspecified for this feature. These are be conscious and conceive.

Examples:

- 11.(a) (i) Are you conscious that this light is too bright?  
(ii) I am not ... ?  
(iii) I am ... ?  
(b) (i) Can you conceive that it would be good for him  
to work hard?  
(ii) I can ... ?  
(iii) I can't ... ?

(The behaviour of these two verbs in other types of clauses may easily be verified.)

#### GROUP V

SC uvidjeti does not take whether-clauses and when-clauses. Otherwise it is similar to SC biti svjestan and E realize and recognize in that it is positively specified with respect to /Speaker's knowledge/. For example:

12. (i) Uvidjaš li da mi moramo uspjeti?  
(ii)\* Ja ne uvidjam ... ?  
(iii) Ja uvidjam ... ?  
- Do you realize that we must succeed?

#### GROUP VI

SC opaziti does not take why-clauses, but it behaves otherwise like the verbs of Group I. For example:

- 13.(a) (i) Opažas li ti da je ona tužna?  
(ii) Ja ne opažam ... ?

- (iii) Ja opažam ... ?
  - Do you notice that she is sad?
- (b) (i) Opažas li ti šta se oko nas događa?
  - (ii) Ja ne opažam ... ?
  - (iii) Ja opažam ... ?
    - Do you notice what's going on around us?

The exceptions are the following:

#### GROUP VII

SC znati and E know seem to behave differently with whether-clauses in direct questions and those in negative statements:

- 14. (a) SC (i) Znaš li ti da li je on došao?
  - (ii) Ja ne znam ... ?
  - (iii) \*Ja znam ... ?
- E (i) Do you know whether he has arrived?
  - (ii) I don't .... ?
  - (iii) \*I do .... ?
- (b) SC (i) On ne zna da li je to ispravno.
  - (ii) Ni ja ne znam.
  - (iii) Ali ja znam.
- E (i) He does not know whether that is correct.
  - (ii) Neither do I.
  - (iii) But I do.

#### GROUP VIII

SC saznati and doznati in direct questions presuppose that the speaker has not got the information, while it is not quite certain whether they can, in these clauses, in negative statements, presuppose speaker's knowledge. The usage would certainly be unusual. For example:

- 15. (a) (i) Jesi li saznao da li je on došao?
  - (ii) Ja nisam ... ?
  - (iii) \*Ja jesam ... ?
    - Have you learnt whether he has arrived?
- (b) (i) On nije saznao da li je Jovan došao.

(ii) ?Ali ja jesam.

(iii) Nisam ni ja.

- He has not learnt whether John has arrived.

#### GROUP IX

SC spoznati, as we have seen already (see p. 62), does not occur in direct questions. In negative statements it is positively specified for /Speaker's knowledge/ and it does not take whether-clauses. In this it is the same as Group III and Group V.

This verb, however, is seldom, if at all, used in everyday speech, but is confined mostly to literary criticism and fiction. Also, it is more usual in V + O sentence construction (e.g. Spoznao je istinu. - He realized what the truth was.) For want of a better example, here is the following:

16. (i) On ne spoznaje gdje to vodi.

(ii) Ja spoznajem.

(iii)\*Ni ja ne spoznajem.

- He doesn't realize what that's leading to.

Still, probably the most usual V + Sentence construction for this verb is V + that-clause:

17. On ne spoznaje da to vodi u propast.

- He doesn't realize that it leads to destruction.

#### GROUP X

SC biti svjestan does not take whether-clauses in direct question and negative statement. Otherwise, it seems to be positively specified for this feature in direct question and also negative statement with all but first person subject. For example:-

18.(a) (i) Jesi li ti svjestan da je on došao?

(ii) \*Ja nisam ... ?

(iii) Ja jesam ... ?

- Do you realize that he has arrived?

(b) (i) On nije svjestan da je taj posao opasan.

- (ii) \*Nisam ni ja.
- (iii) Ali ja jesam.
  - He doesn't realize that that job is dangerous.
- (c) (i) Ja nisam svjes<sup>o</sup>tan šta da radim!
  - (ii) -----
  - (iii) -----
  - I don't know what to do!

We have tried here to establish the specification of these verbs for the feature /Speaker's knowledge/<sup>2</sup>, and we have noticed a few interesting facts. One is that (not surprisingly) that-clause can have a different effect on the meaning of the context from all the other clauses. By this I mean that a verb can be positively specified with relation to the feature /Speaker's knowledge/ with that-clauses and not with any of the others. This indicates that what-, how-, why-, where- and when-clauses presuppose a that-clause. That is to say, 'what happened' presupposes 'that it happened'; 'how, why, where, when it happened' presupposes 'that it happened'. (Of course, this is restricted to these clauses preceded by factive verbs, or affirmative comital verbs in affirmative expressions. The attitude of negative comitals and non-factives differs with respect to what-clause, i. e. there 'what happened' does not imply 'that it happened'. (See p. 66)). This fact in turn indicates that we basically deal with two degrees of knowledge: lower degree ('that it happened'), and higher degree ('what, etc. happened'). We can name these two degrees of knowledge as 'partial knowledge' and 'full knowledge'. This distinction can also be recognized in V + O constructions (e. g. 'I know that poem but I don't understand it'), where the understanding of an object is the full knowledge, while knowing it is not. (See also p. 77 in connection with 'language' contexts.)

Another fact that we have observed is that some verbs are always positively specified with respect to this feature. These verbs are:



SC	E
spoznati	realize
uvidjeti	recognize (in the sense of 'acknowledge')

This means that they possess this feature 'inherently', i. e. that it is present in their meaning in any context that they enter.

Or, in other words they always carry the presupposition of speaker's knowledge. Examples (7h) and (7i) bring out this fact very clearly in connection with realize. Both sentences can be translated into SC with uvidjeti (imperfective). (Spoznati, as we have mentioned above, is seldom used in everyday speech.)

Recognize cannot be substituted in these sentences which indicates that the feature /Speaker's knowledge/ need not be a substitutability feature\*. But sentences (7h) and (7i) are relevant from yet another point of view. If we put (7i) in the form 'Don't you realize that ...', we would get two examples of negative direct questions (in SC the direct negative question form is 'Zar ti ne znaš ...'). Let us now consider znati and know in (7h), (7i), (7j), and (7k). It immediately becomes obvious that they unambiguously presuppose speaker's knowledge. Any other verb of the group, otherwise unspecified for this feature, used in negative direct question presupposes speaker's knowledge. (The original 'know' sentence (7j) proves this explicitly.) Negative direct questions are, therefore, another means of disambiguation towards positive specification with respect to this feature.

4.6.1 The feature /Speaker's knowledge/ first became obvious in relation to the verb realize. In particular it is evident in contexts for know which automatically exclude realize when the subject of a

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\* The distinction has been made (see p.13 ) between 'inherent' (or 'non-contextual') and 'substitutability' (or 'contextual') features.

sentence is in the first person singular and the verb in the negative present or future. Here are a few examples:

- 18. (a) I do not know even what has happened to me. (P28.32)
- (b) 'I don't know what Robert is döing - he doesn't tell me.' (P49.44)
- (c) 'Then I don't know why your digestion is so bad.' (P172.23)
- (d) 'I don't even know where he sleeps.' (P180.37)
- (e) I do not know what he meant. (P197.21)
- (f) I do not know even now how far this was a deliberate contrivance. (P200.25)
- (g) I do not know why or when I decided to stay. (P229.24)

On the other hand, if all these examples were transferred into the past tense (with appropriate changes), the substitution of realize would be possible. What is more, they would all presuppose speaker's knowledge, and, more precisely, speaker's knowledge at the time of utterance, not at the time the action to which he is referring took place. This last qualification is important and necessary. It reflects the spatio-temporal relationship of the speaker with the rest of the world and relates to the deixes of 'this', 'here' and 'now'. The full description of the feature is, therefore, /Presupposes speaker's knowledge at the time of utterance/.

A further proof that this feature was inherent in realize was found in affirmative sentences, which related to the future events, such as 'I will know (soon) what has happened'. It was impossible to substitute realize in such sentences.

But what about the example (71)? On close inspection it will be found that the present tense is used in this sentence with past reference relative to the time of the speaker's utterance. The example is, in other words, part of a narrative. Realize can also be used in expressions that refer to habitual actions, such as 'I

never realize what's happened till it's too late'. All these examples only emphasize the fact that, when a speaker uses the verb realize, the context presupposes the possession of certain information at the time he is using it.

4.6.2 However, difficulties arise when we examine the other verbs of the group. In particular, SC saznati, doznati and otkriti, and E learn, discover, find out and get to know. None of these verbs appear in the first person negative present tense (unless they are used in a narrative or habitually, or unless they are preceded by a modal verb like moći/can). Here, their similarity with realize is striking:

19. SC \*Ne saznajem (ne doznajem, ne otkrivam) da je on došao.

E \*I don't learn (discover, find out, get to know) that he has come.

But they can be used in negative sentences with future reference, with the first person subject, to express predictions:

20. SC Vidjećeš, neću saznati (doznati, otkriti) da je on došao. (Oni to kriju od mene.)

E You'll see, I won't learn (discover, find out, get to know) that he has come. (They are hiding it from me.)

They can also be used in negative sentences with past reference, with the first person singular, without the presupposition of the speaker's knowledge at the time of utterance:

21. SC Nisam saznao (doznao, otkrio) da je on došao.

E I didn't learn (discover, find out, get to know) that he had come.

Unless they are modified by the time adverbials tad/then, the examples (21) indicate, rather strongly, that the speaker does not

possess information at the time of utterance.

This leads us to the conclusion that the impossibility of using these verbs in instances like (19) is not a reflection of their inherently having the feature /Speaker's knowledge/. It seems to suggest, rather, that instances like (19) reflect a constraint on these verbs with respect to another modality feature, namely the feature /Intention/ (discussed on p. 128), since this feature, if implied, is related either to the past or future relative to the time of utterance.

4.7 At this point it is convenient to discuss a small group of verbs of knowledge and understanding which can be employed 'parenthetically'. What I mean by 'parenthetic' use will become clear immediately with the examples given below. The verbs in question are the following:

SC	E
znati	know
vidjeti	see
razumjeti	understand
shvatiti	comprehend
	be aware
	realize

I will give here the examples found in the material, and subsequently attempt to explain componentially the use of these verbs:

22. (a) 'Znate, komunisti se u poslednje vreme vrlo vešto kamufliraju.' (DS340.13)

'Recently the Communists have been camouflaging themselves very cleverly, you know.' (tr. p. 325)

- (b) 'E, vidiš, Aco, i ja mislim da je kod tebe interna stvar.' (DS190.7)

'See here, Aca, I also think it's some internal trouble that's the matter with you.' (tr. p. 184)

- (c) 'Min je bio miram i uredan gradjanin. '  
 'A ja ga, vidite, e<sup>to</sup>, ubih! (OK27.1.1)  
 'Min was a quiet and orderly citizen. '  
 'But, you see, I killed him.' (my tr.)
- (d) Why? Because I wear a queer hat? To me, you know,  
 it isn't a queer hat - it's a sensible hat.' (P10.2)
- (e) 'You know, Jaffery, I often think it would be a good  
 thing if this place were burnt down.' (P33.36)
- (f) 'I'm not saying you meant to do all this, you know.'  
 (P105.12A)
- (g) 'Well, you know, Blanche, I'm a bit of a nuisance.'  
 (P133.33)
- (h) 'This was our nursery, you know.' (F. 15.21)
- (i) 'You know,' she said, 'I didn't think I meant to marry  
 Robert and yet I was mad to get him.' (P105.12B)
- (j) 'I'm rich, you know.' (P258.31)
- (k) 'They even confess to murders they haven't done, you  
 know.' (P310.12)
- (l) 'Asylums, you know, have plain walls.' (P310.20)
- (m) 'I have had a good deal of experience, you know,  
 especially of fevers.' (P293.24)
- (n) 'If you don't want to go back, Lucy, stay here - you're  
 free, you know.' (P95.34)
- (o) 'I've always meant to get married, you know.' (P98.18)
- (p) 'You know, uncle, I wouldn't have anything happen to  
 you.' (P119.8)
- (q) 'He does sometimes need me, you know. When he is  
 sick of politics.' (P190.17)
- (r) 'He really believed it, you know.' (P201.2)
- (s) 'And, as you know, we get on pretty well.' (P287.17)
- (t) 'No, I won't think any more. I don't need to think,  
 thank goodness. You see, I've promised.' (P54.16)
- (u) 'Edward is a clever fool. See, he has suddenly got  
 tired of his holiday and his art and wants to play

at politics again.' (F. 222.40)

- (v) 'You see, sir, I thought if I gave him a tray for the wheels, and things, they'd be under my eye.'  
(P318.40)

- (w) 'Because, you see,' the young man speaks as if to a child, 'there's not enough of it.' (P168.42)

- (x) 'You see, he feels that he has disappointed us all.'  
(P267.17)

- (y) 'But the question is slightly out of my depth. I'm a pathologist, you understand.' (P310.43)

(Although the material does not provide examples employing the other verbs, it will be comparatively easy to establish by substitution how they are related to the ones exemplified above.)

Looking at these examples, we can observe a few facts straight away. Initially we can notice that the use of znati and know differs strikingly from that of vidjeti and see. Znati and know are, obviously, broader in meaning (or in what they convey) than vidjeti and see.

Another thing to notice is that the position of these verbs in the sentence has a significance that must not be overlooked. We shall come to this shortly.

We can now ask ourselves: what is the speaker's intention when he uses these verbs in the examples above? What function do they have? Are they employed to introduce new information, to seek confirmation that the hearer (addressee) already possesses that information and, if not, to explain, or to remind the hearer (addressee) of a certain fact that the speaker knows the hearer is aware of? Because it is at least these three factors that seem to be relevant here.

We have said above that znati and know are broader in meaning than

vidjeti and see, in these contexts. What does this consist in?

If we look at (22b), (22t-x), we shall find that vidjeti and see have primarily the function of introducing new information. This function is emphasized particularly if the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence as in (22b), (22t), (22v) and (22x). The reason I emphasize 'primarily' is that it seems to me that these verbs can have additional implications such as that of seeking confirmation that the hearer has grasped a certain fact and at the same time showing an intention to explain things afresh or further (as in (22c) and (22w)). We shall refer to these two features as /Informative/ and /Explanatory/.

The initial position, therefore, seems to suggest a positive specification for /Informative/. By this I do not mean to say that in the initial position these verbs cannot convey, in addition, an explanatory intention, but that, whether they do or not, they are more likely when used initially to reflect introduction of new information.

The same holds true for znati and know. While they are unspecified otherwise for these two features, in the initial position they seem generally to stress introduction of new information (see examples (22a), (22e), (22g), (22i), (22p)). We can express this in a table as follows (the sign '+' in tables 1 and 2 does not indicate inherent features. The distinction between '+' and 'o' has been introduced to account for primary and secondary presuppositions respectively.):



TABLE 1

	INITIAL POSITION		ELSEWHERE		
	/Informative/	/Explanatory/	/Informative/	Explanatory/	
znati	+	○	○	○	○
vidjeti	+	(○)	+	○	○
know	+	○	○	○	○
see	+	(○)	+	○	○
	SF*			SF	

Let us now consider SC razumjeti and shvatiti, as well as E realize, understand and comprehend with respect to the position in the sentence. The initial position does not seem to affect these verbs. It is true that they are found in this position less frequently than the verbs just discussed but, when they are, they do not seem to presuppose as strikingly the introduction of new information. Rather, they seem to be positively specified for the feature /Explanatory/ and unspecified for the feature /Informative/. In (22i) the difference between know and see on the one hand and realize, understand and comprehend on the other, suggests that this might be an adequate interpretation (see also (22y)).

E be aware differs from all the other verbs in this group in the fact that it is never used to introduce new information. The syntactic structure in which it is normally used in these contexts (i. e. 'as you must/are') emphasizes this fact and serves as a constraint. Another feature is necessary to account for this, since be aware cannot be said to be positively specified (it is, rather, unspecified) for the feature /Explanatory/. For want of a better term, we shall refer to this feature as /Reminding/. The verb realize has also been found to be positively, while vidjeti and see are negatively, specified for this feature. If we look at the sentence (22s) in which we can substitute be aware with the same effect as know, it becomes -----

\* Throughout this work SF will stand for 'substitutability feature'.



clear what is meant here. The feature reflects the fact that the speaker knows well that the hearer is in possession of information and that he uses these verbs only to remind him of it and to draw his attention to its relevance in the context.

We can represent the relationships of the above verbs as follows:

TABLE 2				
	INITIAL POSITION	ELSEWHERE		
	/Informative/	/Informative/	/Explanatory/	/Reminding/
znati	+	O	O	O
vidjeti	+	+	O	-
razumjeti	O	O	+	O
shvatiti	O	O	+	O
know	+	O	O	O
be aware	-	-	O	+
realize	O	O	+	+
understand	O	O	+	O
comprehend	O	O	+	O
see	+	+	O	-
	SF	SF	SF	SF

From the table we can conclude that the flexibility of these verbs enables their use with various nuances of meaning. As far as it was possible, we have indicated the relevant factors that, at least partially, account for the native speaker's distinctions. We can assume that the four columns represent substitutability features of these verbs. We can also assume that the verbs that are assigned positive specifications with respect to a feature would have preference over neutral verbs if the speaker wanted to be more precise and more specific in what he was saying.

On the other hand, as has been mentioned above, contextual neutralization is a very important phenomenon, since it enables substitution to a large degree and also provides the means for the

speaker to express himself less precisely and less specifically. It also enables him, to both explain and introduce new information, to remind and explain at the same time.

4.7.1 There is one further reason that supports the hypothesis that see possesses the feature /Informative/ in all contexts of this nature. The reason is that, as a response to information just obtained, one often uses the phrase 'I see'<sup>\*</sup> where the marker of information just received is overtly present. It can also be a marker, depending on the context, of the explanation just obtained, in which case it can be readily replaced by razumjeti, shvatiti, understand and comprehend. Notice that the opposite holds true for znati, know, be aware and realize. Used as an answer, in the same form as see above, they carry the presupposition that the speaker was in possession of information before the dialogue took place. In the following contexts, found in the material, they would, therefore, be inappropriately used:

23.(a) 'Oh, I see,' Ann said, 'he must have had that phone call he was expecting.' (P209.16) (Ann had just been told that her husband had gone away.)

(b) 'Oh, I see, you've been reading some Moor, 'A Drama in Muslin'.' (P303.41) (The speaker had heard a remark which led him to this conclusion.)

(c) 'We're just going to try how it works - there's no promises on either side.'

'I see, everything left to chance and luck.' (P325.6)

(d) 'Well, ... Uncle, I rather agree with him there - if you have a family, I think it ought to be a family, for the family's own sake.'

----- 'I see, so you've arranged everything.' (P331.31)

\* No such proof exists for SC vidjeti. Instead of an equivalent of 'I see' the SC native speakers often use 'tako dakle', which means approximately 'Oh, that's how it is, is it?'.

## FOOTNOTES

1. By 'inherent' I mean a feature which is identifiable and present as part of its meaning in a verb regardless of context, i. e. in all contexts in which the verb is used. By 'contextual' I mean that the feature is identifiable in certain contexts and not in others, or, rather, that, depending on the context, a feature can or need not be presupposed by the verb. This, of course, holds true for those verbs which can be unspecified with relation to a certain feature. Verbs that are positively or negatively specified (that is, those which possess a feature 'inherently', or do not have it at all) are not flexible in the same way.
2. It must be pointed out that the accuracy of the specifications here and elsewhere naturally depends largely on what the native speaker considers to be 'a more usual' or 'a more normal' interpretation. Because of their abstract nature these verbs are particularly difficult to examine. More than with some other semantic fields, it often presents a problem to find examples as well as counter-examples in order to prove or disprove what one thinks might be the case. This, of course, arises from the fact that verbs of an abstract nature might generally be considered to be more flexible in their use than others. The accuracy of description of an abstract lexical item will vary depending on its flexibility for each native speaker. But, still, the prospects for a componential analysis need not be so pessimistic if we remind ourselves that the task of such an analysis is primarily to 'detect' a certain feature, and only subsequently to investigate accurately how the lexical items in question are related to it. Normally, the discovery of a particular feature is originally connected with perhaps one or two lexical items of the semantic field. The examination of the rest of the field might prove to produce less certain results.

## CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 We come now to a very interesting and also very difficult aspect of subjective modality, related to the significance of the expressed thought. The difficulty is due to at least two factors: a. that of providing an adequate test which would prove or disprove the hypothesis that certain verbs presuppose the significance of the expressed thought inherently and some contextually; b. that of finding out exactly for whom or what that thought is significant.

The two factors arise from a common source, and that is that the hypothesis is intuitive rather than obtained empirically. Thus, we must work within this vicious circle. We can name this feature /Importance/ and, without trying to establish at this stage for whom it is relevant (that is, whether for the speaker, or for the hearer, or the situation generally), proceed to give the relevant examples found in the material:

- 1.(a) Dva školska druga odmah su uvidjela da su postali daleki jedan drugome. (DS217.8)  
- The two school friends at once realized that they had grown apart. (tr. p. 209)
- (b) To znači (...) ne vidjeti i ne spoznati Andrićevu i Selimovićevu različitost u istovjetnosti. (ZIN168.54)  
- It means (...) not seeing and not realizing Andrić's and Selimović's difference in similarity. (my tr.)
- (c) Nezamisliv bi, naime, bio lokalni rat u Evropi. Toga su po svemu sudeći svjesni (...) evropski narodi. (OKJ5.4)  
- A local war in Europe is, that is to say, inconceivable. European nations probably realize this. (my tr.)
- (d) Svjesni smo da je književnost kojoj pripadamo i siromašna i skućena. (ZNK172.13)

- We realize that the literature we belong to is both poor and limited. (my tr.)
- (e) Docnije tek postadoh svijestan te banalne činjenice. (ZMZ57.16)
  - Only later did I become aware of that trivial fact. (my tr.)
- (f) Kad Bugari videše šta se događa sa partizanima, jurnuše sa svih strana. (DS271.34)
  - When the Bulgarians saw what had happened to the partisans, they charged from all sides. (tr. p.261)
- (g) Vereš je dakle otkrio dva antipodna tipa ljudi. (OJN18.1.3)
  - Vereš has, therefore, discovered two constrasting types of people. (my tr.)
- (h) Tokom vremena smo počeli da zapažamo neke pojave koje su se nama činile kao nedostaci. (OI29.1.2)
  - As time went by, we began to perceive certain phenomena which we thought were shortcomings. (my tr.)
- (i) Osam metaka - osam Nemaca ... Onda oni ne bi ovako. Kako to Pavli ne shvata? (DS10.7)
  - Eight bullets - eight Germans ... Then they wouldn't behave like this. Why can't Paul see this? (tr. p.14)
- (j) You don't realize perhaps that this baby of whom you are so careless ought to be a very remarkable man. (P100.13)
- (k) It took us a long time to realize that France was tired of war. (P110.20)
- (l) The old man, seeing Amy collapse, and suddenly realizing the position, had rushed out for the guard. (P164.38)
- (m) She herself soon realized that he was uneasy in her company. (P267.11)
- (n) I had long recognized in Sara, (...) very great faults. (P322.3)

- (o) She was sent to prison for pawning some old trinkets which I had long forgotten. My relatives discovered the fact and called in the police. (P9.2)
- (p) But I said nothing, and I soon discovered how wise I was. (P92.38)
- (q) He does not perceive that, clever as she is, she's a fool in marriage. (P55.32)
- (r) After a moment, when I perceived that she was angered against me, I hastened to find her. (P90.24)
- (s) Neither of us perceived the warning of change, of crisis. (P120.22)
- (t) But he, no more than I, perceived that his mother was almost in poverty. (P336.11)
- (u) It was this terrible truth which I had grasped in the years 1913 and 1914. (P240.8)

Once again, it was the verb realize that indicated the existence of this feature, particularly when contrasted with know in contexts like the following:

- 2.(a) They knew that I fully intended to marry Sara Jimson. (P9.4)
- (b) There is I know some anxiety about the future of the property. (P12.23)
- (c) 'I did not know', I said, 'that you were an expert on farm management.' (P23.13)
- (d) We knew where we were and what we had to do. (P40.30)
- (e) I knew that my father (...) disliked all the ideas of the young radicals. (P122.37)

From the difference discerned between know and realize, the significance of the action referred to is the significance of the possible effect of that action. In other words, the action referred to by the complement of the verb realize is (or may be) a cause of a further action which is in some ways significant. In 'Do you

realize that you didn't say hello to Mary this morning' it may be Mary's further (possible) action that is a matter of concern. It is also possible that we 'realize' something after the effect has taken place (as in 'I realized that I had said the wrong thing only when the woman started shouting'). Even in the simple assertions like 'John realized that Mary was sad', or 'I realize that that young man is a burglar', Mary's being sad and the young man's being a burglar reflect an action which, either as taking place in the past or in the future, is significant for a subsequent action. The significance of effect is recognizable in all examples under (1).

It is not so easy, however, to establish for whom in the context of situation an action is significant; whether it is significant for the speaker, or for the hearer, for the person referred to by the subject of the sentence or the person referred to by the object of the sentence. On close examination of the examples under (1) it is obvious that a distinction could not be made adequately on this basis. For, in some examples (like (1a), (1c), (1d), (1q), (1s)), the action is significant for the subject of the sentence; in some (like (1l), (1t)), the action referred to is significant for the object of the sentence; in some (like (1f), (1m), (1r)) the action is significant for both the subject and the object; and in most cases (like the rest of the examples) the action might be interpreted to be significant for the situation as a whole, that is to say, all participants in it. Even for the examples above, where it could be discerned, at least partially, whose concern is the action referred to, other interpretations are also possible. It is, therefore, thought best to qualify this feature as /Importance of the situation/ which can then be contextually further subclassified. Clearly, it cannot be said that, except in some contexts, the importance of the action is related to the speaker. The role of the speaker as a commentator thus comes again in view. There is also nothing to suggest that it is related to the hearer.



Granted that intuitively we regard this feature as relevant, how can we test its accuracy? So far, I have found it impossible to discover either a syntactic structure which would prove or disprove the hypothesis, or a collocational impossibility that would be relevant. Even in examples like (1e) where biti svjestan is a verb marked /+Importance/, an object like 'trivial fact' is accepted. The native speaker of English would also find 'I realize that trivial fact' acceptable, since it is only at first sight that a sentence like that looks odd. We are, therefore, forced to leave open the question of an appropriate test for this feature.

However, (to go back to what was said above about the significance of the effect of the action referred to), it seems that the mere fact that some information has been brought to our attention (in the case of uvidjeti, biti svjestan, realize); sought (in the case of saznati, doznati, otkriti, zapaziti, uočiti, perceive, discover, learn, find out and make out); or accepted (in the case of uvidjeti and recognize), presupposes a certain importance not necessarily attached to the action referred to but to the one which might result from it, or has already resulted from it.

The group of verbs of knowledge and understanding contains items that are positively specified for this feature and those that are unspecified. There are no negative specifications, although SC primijetiti and opaziti and E notice in some contexts almost reach this point.

It seems that /Importance/ is inherent in the following verbs, i. e. that the following verbs are positively specified for this feature:



SC	E
spoznati	grasp
shvatiti	realize
biti svjestan	recognize ('accept information')
uvidjeti	be aware
saznati	be conscious
doznati	make out
otkriti	learn ('gain information')
zapaziti	discover
uočiti	perceive
	find out

Because of various other features involved<sup>1</sup> the fact that these verbs are all positively specified for the feature /Importance/ does not mean that they are necessarily substitutable for each other. It only indicates that whatever context they enter they will presuppose a certain importance.

The rest of the verbs are unspecified for this feature. They will depend on the context for the presupposition of /Importance/.

Therefore, it follows that they are broader in application than the positively specified verbs, as far as this feature goes, since those are normally used only when importance is attached to an action.

5.2 /Volition/ and /Intention/, as features of subjective modality, have in the course of analysis been looked at separately. It then became obvious that they are frequently in relation of unilateral implication. That is to say, /Intention/ normally implies /Volition/, whereas /Volition/ does not necessarily imply /Intention/.

It has also been found that /Intention/ can be inherent in some verbs, while /Volition/ is not. Or, to put it differently, only one part of /Volition/ can be inherent, and that is /Intention/. This particular distinction can also be referred to as overt (i. e. /Volition/) versus

covert (i. e. /Intention/). We have to add also that /Intention/ can be expressed overtly (we shall come to this shortly, see p. 128).

Both the feature /Volition/ and the subfeature /Intention/ are related to the subject of a sentence rather than the speaker, unless the speaker is the subject of the sentence (that is to say, first person singular).

5.2.1 It has been found necessary to distinguish between transitive and intransitive /Volition/ (that is to say, between 'I want him to know' and 'I want to know') because some verbs behave differently depending on whether the context is transitive or not.<sup>2</sup>

The material contained a considerable number of examples for /Intention/, while the number of examples expressing any kind of /Volition/ is very small and we shall quote them all:

- 3.(a) 'Bole me grudi', šaptao je i nije smeo da se pokrene da ne sazna gde mu je rana. (DS59.20)  
- 'I have a pain in my chest', he whispered to himself, and did not dare to turn round to find out where his wound was. (tr. p.61)<sup>3</sup>
- (b) Pavle je dolazio u iskušenje da ga zapita za svoju porodicu, ali se uzdržao, ne želeći da seljak sazna ko je on i odakle je. (DS184.37)  
- Paul was tempted to ask about his own family, but he refrained, as he did not want the peasant to know who he was or where he came from. (tr. p.179)
- (c) Uča se nadao da će Nemci brzo (...) uvideti besmislenost držanja tolike vojske za jednu partizansku četicu. (DS265.27)  
- Prof hoped that the Germans would soon (...) see that it was pointless to keep such a big army against a single platoon of Partisans. (tr. p.255)
- (d) Znam, želite znati zašto tražim poznanstvo preko

oglasa. (ZT81.20)

- I know, you wish to know why I seek acquaintance through advertisement. (my tr.)

- (e) 'Zavite me brzo', reče, želeći da što pre ustane da sazna ishod borbe i vidi Pavla. (DS88.32)

- 'Tie me up quickly', he said; he wanted to get up as soon as possible and find out the outcome of the battle and see Paul. (tr. p.88)

- (f) 'Voleo bi' ja da znam imaju li oni vezu sa Rusijom.' (DS291.39)

- 'What I'd like to know is have they any connection with Russia.' (tr. p.279)

- (g) Chomsky (...) prilazi jezičkom ispitivanju sa željom da dozna što više o odnosima gramatičkog i logičkog. (PL144.11)

- Chomsky approaches linguistic enquiry with the aim to find out as much as possible about the relationship between grammar and logic. (my tr.)

- (h) They're just delighted to hear there's anyone to tell them what to do. (P61.4)

- (i) I wanted to know what was happening to her, as if it were to myself. (P44.11)

The above examples show some of the ways in which /Volition/ can be expressed. Granted that the most obvious way of expressing /Volition/ would be using verbs like wish, want, or would like to, we can examine whether the above examples can be paraphrased by one of them. Since (3 b), (3 d), (3 e), (3 f) and (3 <sup>i</sup>h) are straightforward examples of /Volition/, we shall, for the moment, leave them aside.

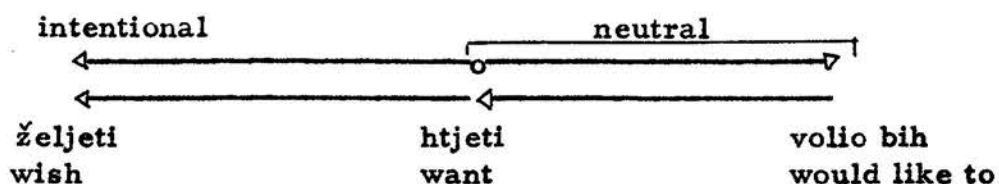
(3 a) is better translated by 'lest he should find out ...' (see footnote 3); and this can be paraphrased as 'He didn't dare move because he didn't want to find out where his wound was'. Lest he should can,

therefore, be marked as negative volition.

(3c) and (3h) are not so straightforward. In a sense, to hope that something should happen is to want something to happen; to be delighted to hear something is frequently to have wanted to hear something. But still, to paraphrase hope and be delighted by want or even would like to, would be misleading. It would be misleading for at least two reasons: one is that hope and be delighted do not presuppose any degree of intention on the part of the person referred to by the subject to bring about the desired effect. That is to say, while hope and be delighted are non-intentional, wish, want and would like to are not, however little intention they may express. The other reason is that to be delighted is in the case of (3h) a consequence of to want, since wish, want and would like to are characterised as non-past. To be delighted is a fulfilment of to want. (But, if to be delighted expresses non-past, e.g. I shall be delighted to hear that', then the substitution of wish, want or would like to is possible.)

(3g) includes the nominal phrase sa željom, 'with the wish to' (probably more common in SC) with the same function as wish, want and would like to.

In (3b), (3d), (3e), (3f) and (i) /Volition/ is expressed by SC željeti ('wish') and htjeti ('want'). The native speakers feel that the difference between these verbs in the expression of /Volition/ is that željeti/wish presuppose an intention towards bringing about the desired action, or state, while htjeti/want are more neutral. Hence it would be odd to say 'I wish him to study mathematics, but I'm not going to influence him'. Volio bih/would like is neutral like htjeti/want, but also indicating (more strongly than these verbs) that the speaker might not have the power to do anything about it. The following diagram will represent this difference between željeti/wish, htjeti/want and volio bih/would like to;



As the arrows in the diagram show volio bih/ would like to are further away from željeti/ wish than htjeti/ want and therefore željeti/ wish are less likely to be substituted by volio bih/ would like to than by htjeti/ want, and the other way round.

Volio bih/ would like to have been included in the analysis because it seems that some verbs do not readily accept that kind of conditional volition.\*

Most verbs of this group can take all three overt markers of /Volition/. Perceive is interesting in that according to the construction it requires for the intransitive context ('be able to perceive'), it indicates yet another feature (the same holds true for zapaziti below), and that is the presupposition of a stimulus on the senses (see p. 192). By the transitive construction it requires ('I want him to perceive'), it indicates that it can presuppose causation.

The verbs that cannot take all three markers of /Volition/ are the following:

-----  
\* Other kinds of overt markers for /Volition/ like desire are considered less frequent in everyday speech and excluded on those grounds.

SC

pojmiti

uvidjeti

primijetiti

opaziti

zapaziti

E

realize

be aware

make out

notice

conceive

The following is the table representing how they differ from each other:

TABLE 3

## VOLITION

	Transitive 'I want him to'			Intransitive 'I want to'		
	Intentional 'wish him'	Unspecified for int.		Intentional 'wish'	Unspec. for int.	
		'want him'	'would like him to'		'want'	'would like to'
Pojmiti	+	+	+	+	+	+
uvidjeti	+	+	+			
primijetiti	+	+	+		+	+
opaziti					+	+
zapaziti		+	+	+	+	+
realize		+	+			
be aware		+	+		+	+
make out		+	+	+	+	+
notice	+	+	+		+	+
conceive	+	+	+			

An explanation, although tentative, can be given for the non-occurrences in the table. Would like to seems to be too weak for pojmiti which is in such contexts essentially marked /+Intention/. But notice that it does not affect verbs like razumjeti and shvatiti, although even there the construction sounds unusual.

There is an interesting difference here between SC uvidjeti and E realize. While neither occurs in intransitive constructions, in

transitive constructions they differ in that realize does not occur with wish. This can be explained by the fact that realize unlike uvidjeti does not normally presuppose any persuasion and, therefore, does not necessarily imply acceptance of a particular piece of information (see uvidjeti p.<sup>153</sup>). Since wish presupposes the intention of bringing an event about the occurrence of realize with wish is inappropriate. For the same reason, uvidjeti with wish ('željati') is acceptable.

SC primijetiti and notice behave in the same way - they do not occur with wish in intransitive contexts. One possible reason is that, since wish presupposes intention on part of the person referred to by the subject and these two verbs presuppose some kind of stimulus on the senses, the collocation is not appropriate. It is possible in transitive constructions since if we say 'I wish him to notice the change' we mean to say that we shall do something to force the fact upon the attention of the person referred to by the object.

The non-occurrence of SC opaziti in transitive constructions and with wish in intransitive constructions seems to be due to the fact that this verb does not presuppose intention (see p.<sup>136</sup>).

SC zapaziti and E make out differ in the presupposed certainty of some kind of result. In the case of make out the facts have yet to be obtained, whereas in the case of zapaziti the facts are there, ready and it only depends on the individual's power of perception to reveal it. In other words, while make out stresses objective inaccessibility (see the feature /Effort/ on p.<sup>192</sup>), zapaziti presupposes, as the main factor, an individual's ability to perceive. This difference is clearly marked by the syntax of the constructions in which make out occurs:



## TRANSITIVE

WISH: \_\_\_\_\_

WANT: I want him to make out .....

WOULD LIKE: I would like him to be able to make out .....

## INTRANSITIVE

WISH: I wish to be able to make out .....

WANT: I want to be able to make out .....

WOULD LIKE TO: I would like to make out .....

The non-occurrence with wish of both these verbs and also the change of construction for make out indicates quite clearly a further feature of these verbs, i. e. /-Causative/.

The reason for non-occurrence of conceive is not clear and will have to remain unexplained for the present. The construction that this verb requires with would like him to: 'I would like him to be able to conceive ...' indicates that the verb presupposes /-Causative/.

5. 2. 2 The subfeature /Intention/ has been tested overtly by preceding each verb by nastojati/try (as in (4b) ) but, as will be exemplified from the material, there are other forms of expressing 'intention to achieve something':

4. (a) Nikola se mučio da prepozna Munju i čim namisli da ga je prepoznao, psi se pomešaju i izgubi ga iz vida. (DS83. 2)
- Nikola strained every nerve to pick out Lightning, but as soon as he thought he had recognized him the dogs mingled and he lost sight of him. (tr. p. 83)
- (b) Ona nastoji (...) da otkrije i rasvetli smisao postojanja. (ZK6. 30)
- It tries to discover and shed light on the meaning of existence. (my tr.)
- (c) Znanost tendira da spozna istinu o svijetu. (OSP26. 2)



- Science strives to find out the truth about the world.  
(my tr.)

(d) Ali ništa pouzdano nije mogao da sazna. (DS285.17)

- But he could not get any reliable information. (tr. p. 273)

(e) ... while our mother, with all her scrupulous anxiety to understand our troubles, was at a loss among the violence and confusion of nursery affairs. (P29.18)

When tested for overt intention, the verbs of knowledge and understanding were for the most part found to be able to occur in such constructions. The exceptions were SC uvidjeti and E realize and be conscious. Although perhaps not in the same context, all the other verbs could meaningfully occur after nastojati/try.

It has also been found that the verbs capable of overt intention can also be regarded as achievement verbs.

Gilbert Ryle (1949) draws plausible conclusions about intention (or voluntary action) and achievement. He says: 'In the most ordinary employment 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' are used (...) as adjectives applying to actions which ought not to be done. We discuss whether someone's action was voluntary or not only when the action seems to have been his fault. (...) But philosophers, in discussing what constitutes acts voluntary or involuntary, tend to describe as voluntary not only reprehensible, but also meritorious actions (...)' (p. 69)

'In their use, a person is described as voluntarily doing the right thing and as voluntarily doing the wrong thing, or as being responsible not only for action for which he is subject to accusation, but also for actions entitling him to kudos. It is used, that is, as a synonym of 'intentional'.' (p. 75)

'There can be achievements which are prefaced by no task performances. We sometimes find things without searching, secure

appointments without applying and arrive at true conclusions without having weighed the evidence.' (p. 150)

'This is why we can significantly say that someone has aimed in vain or successfully, but not that he has hit the target in vain or successfully (...) in particular, heed adverbs like 'carefully', 'attentively', 'studiously', 'vigilantly', 'conscientiously' and 'pertinaciously' cannot be used to qualify such cognitive verbs as 'discover', 'prove', 'solve', 'detect', or 'see' (...) (p. 151)

'The distinction between task verbs and achievement verbs or 'try' verbs and 'got it' verbs frees us from another theoretical nuisance. It has long been realized that verbs like 'know', 'discover', 'solve', 'prove', 'perceive', 'see' and 'observe' are in an important way incapable of being qualified by adverbs like 'erroneously' and 'incorrectly'.' (p. 152)

The notion of intention and achievement can, however, be extended to verbs other than factives like feel, think, believe and hear in which case the argument of the last paragraph is refuted. These verbs can overtly express intention or achievement (e. g. 'I tried to think that he was right', 'I succeeded in thinking that he was right') and yet, due to the non-factive nature, they readily accept adverbs like 'erroneously' and 'incorrectly'.

Ryle's distinction on p. 150 is very important. During this analysis it has been found that very few achievement verbs are inherently intentional. This was tested by accompanying the verbs with slučajno/by chance. Of all the achievement verbs only three were inherently intentional.

It is perhaps best to give a table of all the distinctions for /Intention/ and /Achievement/ and then discuss significant cases.

TABLE 4

	/Int./	/Ach./		/Int./	/Ach./
znati	0	+	know	0	+
čuti	0(+)	+	understand	0(+)	+
saznati	0(+)	+	comprehend	0(+)	+
doznati	0(+)	+	grasp	0(+)	+
spoznati	0	+	realize	-	-
razumjeti	0(+)	+	recognize	+	-
shvatiti	0(+)	+		0(+)	+
pojmiti	0(+)	+	be conscious	-	-
biti jasno	0(+)	+	be clear	0(+)	+
biti svjestan	-	-	be aware	0	+
	0(+)	+?	make out	+	+
poznavati	0	+	hear	0(+)	+
upoznati	0(+)	+	learn	0(+)	+
poznati (perf.)	0(+)	+	discover	0(+)	+
prepoznati(imp.)	+	+	find out	0(+)	+
(perf.)	0(+)	+	get to know	0(+)	+
učiti	0(+)	+	see	0(+)	+
uvidjeti	-	-	notice	0(+)	+
otkriti	0(+)	+	perceive	0(+)	+
primijetiti	0(+)	+	conceive	0	+
opaziti	0(+)	+	feel	0	0
zapaziti	0(+)	+	think	0	0
uočiti	0(+)	+	believe	0	0
osjetiti	0	0			
misliti	0	0			
vjerovati	0	0			

The sign '+' in brackets indicates that those verbs can be covertly intentional in some contexts. The sign '+' otherwise indicates that the feature is inherent.

We shall now first of all examine more closely the verbs that have been thought to be /+Intention/ in at least some contexts and try to find out what kind of contexts they are.

(a) GROUP I: /0(+Intention/; /+Achievement/

1. It has been found that SC saznati and doznati presuppose /Intention/ in negative statements past tense (and present tense in a narrative) with the first person subject, and direct questions. The same holds true for E learn ('obtain information'). The following example of a negative statement in the past tense has been found in the material:

5. On ništa više od nje ne saznade sem to da je neka lepa žena (...) bila sa četnicima i da je posle otišla.  
(DS289.4)

- He could not get any information from her except the fact that a good-looking woman (...) had been with the Chetniks and had later departed. (tr. p. 277)

There are no examples of direct questions but the above argument can be easily tested. With direct questions phonological stress is also significant. If the stress is on the subject the context is interpreted as unspecified for /Intention/ (in SC the subject is then omitted). If the stress is on the verb then some verbs are marked /+Intention/.

2. In affirmative statements with past reference or conditionals these verbs can be interpreted either as presupposing /Intention/ or not, depending on the context:

- 6.(a) Ako saznaju da ste sišli, sve će da nas pobiju. (DS320.9)

- If they get to know that you've come down here they'll kill off the lot of us. (tr. p. 306)

- (b) Kad bi Brka za to saznao! (DS346.39)

- If Brka got to know about this! (tr. p. 331)

- (c) Saznao je ne samo za svih pet kontinenata (...) već i to da se svet deli na one koji rade i one za koje se

radi. (DS.180.3)

- Not only did he know the names of all the five continents (...), but he knew something else too: he knew that the world was divided into those who worked and those who had others to work for them. (tr. p.175)

(d) Vrenenom smo saznali da u gradu djeluju stalna opera i balet. (OI29.1)

- In time, we learnt that there was a permanent opera and ballet in the town. (my tr.)

(e) I pre desetak dana doznao sam da on više njima nije potreban. (OK22.3.4)

- And ten days ago I learnt that they don't need him any more. (my tr.)

(f) Potom na radu, ja sam blisko upoznala Ilića, doznala njegove ocene ljudi. (ZS13.9)

- Later, while working with him I got to know Ilić well, learnt about his ideas about people. (my tr.)

(g) Kasnije već, u Sibiru, doznala sam da Ilić nije ništa manje od mene čitao klasike. (ZS13.14)

- Later still, in Siberia, I learnt that Ilić did not read classics any less than myself. (my tr.)

(h) But I did learn from Edward that, according to his man, the between-maid at home was not entirely virtuous. (P76.11)

(i) And in truth, as I learnt at a later time, from one who had been a Benjamite, Lucy was a terror to Brown. (P97.30)

### 3. These verbs presuppose /Intention/ in the future tense:

7.(a) Večeras će konačno saznati šta je sa njom. (DS345.36)

- He will finally learn to-night what has happened to her. (my tr.)

- (b) Plašio se da neće imati snage da napusti ovaj kraj  
dok ne bude doznao šta je sa Brankom. (DS284.37)  
 - He was afraid that he would not have the strength to  
 leave this district until he had found out what had  
 happened to Branka. (tr. p.273)
- (c) Primjenom komutacije doznaće se ono najbitnije.  
 (PL128.33)  
 - By commutation it will be possible to learn the most  
 essential facts. (my tr.)

The rest of the verbs can be easily tested:

- 8.(a) Šta sam očekivao od tog cilja nikad mi neće biti jasno.  
 (ZMZ56.26)  
 - It will never be clear to me what I expected from that  
 goal. (my tr.)
- (b) Jasno mi je zašto sam lagao njoj, ali zašto sam lagao  
 sebi? (ZMZ57.35)  
 - It's clear to me why I lied to her, but why did I lie  
 to myself? (my tr.)
- (c) Ali zna da će uspjeti samo ako otkrije svoj unutrašnji  
 svijet. (ZL10.48)  
 - But he knows that he will succeed only if he discovers  
 his inner world. (my tr.)

We can therefore conclude that the feature /Intention/ is, as far as  
 these verbs are concerned (unless they are preceded by, for  
 example, modal moći/can) connected with contexts with past and  
 future reference, and not with those referring to present events.

The distinction between the speaker and the subject of the sentence  
 is again relevant with respect to the feature /Intention/. For  
 example, in the future tense first person subject all the verbs of  
 this group (except SC opaziti) are /+Intention/. In the future tense  
 second person subject and third person subject the intention varies

with each verb. The table below will show other distinctions between the speaker and the subject in the constructions that have been found significant. Also, specifications for the verbs of this group that have not been explicitly discussed above will be given.

It should be noted that /Intention/ is not considered to be a substitutability feature, since it is relevant for verbs in so many different contexts. It can, however, prove to be a contextual restriction in the sense of impossibility of substitution, for smaller groups of verbs, e.g. 'skill' contexts (p. 197).

TABLE 5

## INTENTION

Aff. st. Past & Cond'l. Sp. & Subj.	Past Neg. St.		Past Dir. Qu.		Future			
	I Pers. Speaker	Others Subj.	Stress Subj.	Stress Verb	I Pers. Speaker	II Person Speaker	III Person Speaker	Subj.
			Subj.	Subj.				
0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	-
0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+
0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+
0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
0	0	0	0	0	+	0	-	0
0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0
0	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0
0	+	0	0	+	+	-	0	0
0	0	0	0	+	+	-	-	0
0	0	0	0	0				
0	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	+
0	+	0	0	+	+			+

čuti

saznati

doznati

razumjeti

shvatiti

pojmiti

biti jasno

upoznati

naučiti

vidjeti

otkriti

primijetiti

opaziti

zapaziti

uočiti



TABLE 5 (Cont'd.)

## INTENTION

Aff. st. Past & Cond'l. Sp. & Sub.	Past Neg. St.		Past Dir. Ou.		Future			
	I Pers. Speaker	Others Subj.	Stress Subj.	Stress Verb Subj.	I Pers.		II Person	
					Speaker	Subj.	Speaker	Subj.
understand	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0
comprehend	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0
grasp	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0
be clear	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0
hear	0	0	0	0	+	0	+	-
learn	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+
discover	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0
find out	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0
get to know	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0
see	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0
notice	0	0	0	+	+	+	-	0
perceive	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	0

It can be observed from the table that the significant differences are marked:

- (a) In negative statements (past tense) with first person subjects;
- (b) In direct questions (past tense) when the stress is on the verb; and
- (c) In the future tense, first, second and third person subject.

(b) GROUP II

E recognize in the sense of 'accepting something as true or existent' can be marked /+Intention/ but it is doubtful, or not very plausible to regard it as /+Achievement/. In its other sense considered here, i. e. the sense of 'known before', it is not inherently /+Intention/, but it is inherently /+Achievement/ (see also examples under (9) below).

SC (pre) poznati<sup>\*</sup> is interesting in that it is /+Intention/ if it is in the imperfective form<sup>\*\*</sup>, and unspecified if it is in the perfective form:

9. (a) Kad medju njima prepoznade (perfective) najlepší glas, Bojanin, on uzbudjeno pridje vatri. (DS90.7)  
- When he recognized Bojana's voice, the finest among the singers, he became filled with agitation and moved to the fire. (tr. p. 90)
- (b) Pavle poznade (perfective) i tekst i čitača. (DS20.3)

-----  
\* Poznati and prepoznati ('recognize') are synonymous as perfectives, while they differ as imperfectives: poznavati can be translated by the E know, while prepoznavati can be rendered by the E recognize.

\*\* This phenomenon is, as Prof. D. Ward points out, a common characteristic of the meaning of at least some imperfective verbs both in Russian and in SC.

Paul recognized both the words and the reader.

(tr. p. 23)

- (c) Pavle je išao pogledom od jednog do drugog zaspalog partizana i prepoznavao (imperfective) ih. (DS28.33)

- Paul's glance travelled from one sleeping Partisan to another; he recognized each in turn. (tr. p. 31)

- (d) Video je da je to veliko moravsko selo koje nije prepoznavao (imperfective). (DS200.33)

- He saw that it was a large village by the Morava which he could not recognize. (tr. p. 194)

- (e) Stajela je kod vrata, pozdravljala se sa svima, prepoznavala ih i sa svakim ponešto progovorila. (DS321.15)

- She stood at the door and greeted them all, saying something to each of them as she recognized them. (tr. p. 307)

- (c) GROUP III: /+Intention/; /+Achievement/

The material contains only two examples of the E verb make out, but it can easily be tested that this verb is different from the rest of the achievement verbs in that it is inherently intentional (\*I made it out by chance). Here are the two examples which clearly show that it is /+Intention/ in negative statements and conditionals, the latter one distinguishing it from the other achievement verbs, which, as we have seen, are unspecified for /Intention/ in conditionals (see examples (6a-b)):

- 10.(a) It would seem, therefore, that the girl did not drive at eighty miles an hour in order to kill me. Though I can't make out why she has chosen in that case to bring me to Tolbrook. (P12.20)

- (b) This would not alarm me so much if I could make out what goes on in the girl's head. (P9.17)

- (d) Although Group IV (/ 0 Intention/: /+Achievement/) are

unspecified for /Intention/ (in other words, with the exception of znati and know, if they occur in intentional contexts, the intention has to be marked overtly) it has been thought intuitively correct to regard them as achievement verbs, not only because they can express achievement overtly, but also because they distinctly embody this feature, since possession of information is achievement in the most significant sense.

Znati and know differ from the rest of the group in the fact that they are marked /+Intention/ in some future tense contexts (consider their substitution in (7a) ).

(e) GROUP V: /0 Intention/; /0 Achievement/

SC osjetiti, misлити and vjerovati, as well as E feel, think and believe have been assigned zero specifications for both /Intention/ and /Achievement/ for the mere reason that, unless these features are overtly marked by preceding them with verbs like try and succeed for /Intention/ and /Achievement/ respectively, these verbs do not normally indicate any intention on the part of the speaker or the subject of the sentence.

(f) GROUP VI: /-Intention/; /-Achievement/

SC uvidjeti and E realize and be conscious have been given negative specifications for both /Intention/ and /Achievement/, since they do not occur even in contexts with overt markers of these features.

(g) GROUP VII

SC biti svjestan, with respect to some features equivalent to the E be conscious, differs from it here in that it can, in some contexts, express /+Intention/. For example:

11. Nisam svjestan šta se sa mnom dešava.

- I don't know what's happening to me.

where there is an intention or a wish to find out, or make things clear. Whether this verb is, on the basis of examples like (11), inherently an achievement verb is not clear. It seems that, in

order to make an adequate representation, a distinction would have to be made between the sense of the verb in (11), in which case it is similar to razumjeti, shavatiti, understand, etc., (see the feature /Analysis/, p. 154), and elsewhere where it would be, like be conscious, assigned negative specifications for /Intention/ and /Achievement/, and share with it the feature /Observation/ (see Chapter 6, Group I, p. 145). However, since no further significant differences have been established for biti svjestan and be conscious, we are obliged to leave this question open and in the meantime treat biti svjestan as having only one distinguishable sense in these contexts.

## FOOTNOTES

1. For example SC biti svjestan (in one of its senses) and uvidjeti and E realize and be conscious differ from the rest of this subset by being /-Intention/ (to be discussed later, see p.128 ); SC uvidjeti and E recognize are further distinguished from the rest by being /+Acknowledgement/ (also to be discussed, see p. 153). We shall also see that SC saznati and doznati and E learn differ from the rest in the way information is obtained (see p. 172 ).
2. On p. 167 the term 'Di-transitive' is used in connection with V + Object constructions to distinguish between the two kinds of objects co-occurring with the same verb. It is not necessary to make this distinction here, since we are basically concerned with the verbs in the infinitive, and not with the ones actually carrying the feature /Volition/, although they have been brought in to establish the differences between the analysed verbs.
3. Heppell-Mihajlović translation is misleading and ambiguous. Instead of emphasizing the fact that the person did not want to find out about his wound (as the original indicates by da ne ('lest he') ), the translation gives quite the opposite interpretation. In other words, find out should also be negated by something like lest he ... .

## CHAPTER SIX

6.1 One of the most relevant features of subjective modality for this semantic field is the feature /Ability/. It is present in one form or another in all the verbs of knowledge and understanding.

It seems plausible to assume that each verb stresses one aspect of ability more than another. However, this is not to say that the substitutability of these verbs is always ensured, as far as the feature /Ability/ goes. We shall see that the groups that are formed by assigning the verbs the subfeatures of /Ability/ are in some cases mutually exclusive. This happens at the lower levels of classification and it is there that the restrictions on the substitutability of verbs have to be met.

The examination of these verbs points out the fact that, together, they presuppose at least three distinct types of ability: ability to observe, ability to store information and ability to reason. There are also verbs that seem to presuppose either observation and reasoning or all three: observation and storing information and reasoning, so that we can basically divide them into five groups on the basis of the three types of ability.

The fact that in these verbs there have been found three types of ability: observation, storing and reasoning, is very significant, because it convincingly suggests three major steps in our acquisition of knowledge. Many instances of the impossibility of substituting, for example, be conscious for know or know for understand can be accounted for in this way.

By 'observation' I mean an action which involves our senses and, consequently, requires that the information be accessible to them. The most clearly distinguished senses are vision, hearing and touch. There are others that concern this group of verbs but that are not

easily definable; and they are especially relevant for verbs like be conscious or feel. Let us suggest, however, that the meaning of such verbs is indeterminate with respect to which sense is involved.

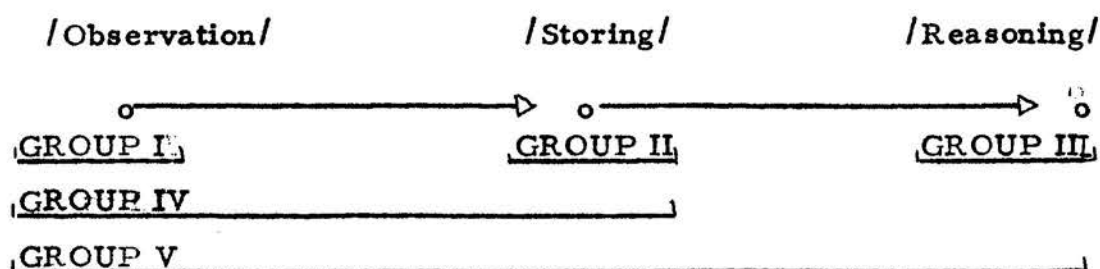
By 'storing' information, I mean the ability to keep that information as a possession. (By 'storing' I do not necessarily mean remembering or being able to recall.) We shall see that verbs like know cannot be in some contexts substituted for any other verb of the group, which strongly suggests that in our acquisition of knowledge there may be information which is either relevant only for a limited period of time or simply acquired to be stored and not necessarily reasoned upon. The fact that the first step, i. e. the manner of observation is <sup>not</sup> encoded in verbs like know, accounts for its flexibility in use.

By 'reasoning' I mean in one sense operating upon the information already obtained and stored. But the verbs of this semantic field express other kinds of reasoning too (to this question we return later, see p. 153 ).

As has already been said above, some verbs not only presuppose observation but also indicate that the speaker has (or has had) a further step in mind, either that of storing information or that of reasoning upon it. This distinction makes it possible to account for differences between, for example, verbs like notice, which seems to be an 'observation' verb, and perceive, which seems to presuppose all three kinds of ability.

The three-step acquisition of knowledge and the five identified groups of knowledge and understanding can be schematically represented as follows:





We can now proceed to discuss each group in more detail.

## 6.2 GROUP I: /+Ability/ - /+Observation/

SC	E
biti svjestan	realize
(pre)poznati	recognize ('known before')
osjetiti	be conscious
primijetiti	be aware
opaziti	feel
	notice

Consider the following examples:

- 1.(a) Jevta nije odmah bio svestan toga. (DS105.8)
  - Jevta did not immediately realize this. (tr. p.104)
- (b) Vihor ogorčenja i bola sve je ispreturao i uskovitlao u Gvozdenu, tako da on nije bio svestan svoga postupka pred odredom, ni reči koje je izrekao Pavlu dok ga je ovaj umirivao. (DS129.19)
  - A tumult of pain and bitterness whirled furiously round in Gvozden's head, so that he was not aware of his behaviour in front of the company; nor of the words he had shouted at Paul when the latter tried to calm him down (...). (tr. p.128)
- (c) Pavle ga nije prepoznao u mraku. (DS65.26)
  - Paul could not recognize him in the dark. (tr. p.66)
- (d) Oči jedan drugom nisu videli ali jedan drugom osetiše misli. (DS32.9)

- They could not see each other's eyes, but they felt each other's thoughts. (tr. p. 34)
- (e) I stari partizani osećali su po Vukovum držanju da on teško pati. (DS285.4)
  - Even the old Partisans who knew him well sensed from Vuk's behaviour that he was suffering acutely. (tr. p. 273)
- (f) Starac primeti da Jovan nešto teško brine. (DS171.34)
  - The old man noticed that something was seriously worrying John. (tr. p. 167)
- (g) Pavle se okrenu k njemu, opazi njegovu uzbudjenost i mirno reče (...). (DS54.35)
  - Paul turned towards him, and noticing his excitement, said quietly (...) (tr. p. 56)
- (h) I did not even wait to get my hat or my handbag, and when, seated in the train, I realized the fact I said 'Never mind'. (P68.43)
- (i) But now, remembering that room, I realize for the first time that Sara slept in it. (P130.5)
- (j) For I could not recognize the fields. (P117.37)
- (k) But in this midland town, I was conscious for the first time of a deep anxiety, an oppression that becomes almost unbearable. (P58.19)
- (l) She isn't even aware of this hatred and jealousy which surrounds her. (P342.11)
- (m) Lucy herself felt some change in me. (P61.34)
- (n) I noticed then that no one was paying the least attention to the scene upon the landing. (P65.37)

From the examples it can be observed, first of all, that the verbs of this group presuppose the ability of the senses to detect events which build up information. It can also be observed that this ability is conditioned to a very large degree by the surroundings

and the possibility to detect information. This is why it has been said above (see p. 87 ) that ability and possibility are implicationally related, i. e. ability implies possibility.

Also, it is obvious that SC (pre)poznati and E recognize (in the sense of 'known before') differ from the rest of the group in one important respect: the ability to observe here presupposes memory about objects and in that sense also presupposes repetitiveness of events. That is to say, the verbs are not used unless the context presupposes that an event has happened before, or that an object has been seen before. We shall call this feature /Memory : Repetitive/. It is a substitutability feature for these two verbs. The other verbs of the group are negatively specified for it.

But these two verbs have also got something in common with some of the verbs of the rest of the group and that is an implication of a specific sense, either that of vision or any other, as a necessary requirement for observation. The sense implied will depend on the context (e. g. in 'I recognized his voice' the sense implied is that of hearing). A particular sense is also presupposed in SC primijetiti and opaziti and E notice. Unlike them, biti svjestan, osjetiti, be conscious, be aware and feel do not presuppose any of the senses specifically. Rather, they can presuppose all of them at the same time. By this we can account for them having broader use in comparison with the rest of the group. In other words, a relation of implication holds between primijetiti/opaziti/notice and biti svjestan/osjetiti/realize/be conscious/be aware/feel. Thus:

primijetiti	⊃	biti svjestan
opaziti		osjetiti
notice		realize
		be conscious
		be aware
		feel

The verbs on the left hand side are, therefore, hyponyms of the verbs on the right hand side.

This difference is reflected in the impossibility of substituting for example, notice in (1d).

There is, however, a further difference and a very significant one. The substitutability of these verbs is restricted on the basis of contemporaneity of the moment of speech and the action referred to. If the two are contemporaneous, the substitution is possible, i. e. neutralization occurs, but if (as in (1b) and (1i) ) they are not contemporaneous, substitution seems odd and inappropriate.

We can, therefore, represent the relationship of the verbs of Group I as follows:

TABLE 6

	ABILITY		
	OBSERVATION		Memory : Repetitive
	Specific Sense	CONTEMPOR- ANEOUS	
biti svjestan	0	0	-
(pre)poznati	+	-	+
osjetiti	0	0	-
primijetiti	+	0	-
opaziti	+	0	-
realize	0	0	-
recognize	+	-	+
be conscious	0	0	-
be aware	0	0	-
feel	0	0	-
notice	+	0	-
		SF	SF

(see also Group V, on p. 189)

### 6.3 GROUP II: /+Ability/-/Storing/

SC	E
znati	know
	be aware

In the material, there are quite a number of contexts with znati and know in which no other verb of knowledge and understanding can be replaced with approximately the same meaning. Be aware is an exception, but its substitution seems to be limited to only some of these contexts. This suggests that there is a sense of these verbs which distinguishes them from the rest of the group. For want of a better term we shall call the feature reflecting this difference /Storing information/, which means that, in certain contexts, these verbs presuppose nothing more but that the information has (or has not) been stored (obtained). Here are some such contexts:

- 2.(a) Sem to da je električarski radnik, niko u odredu, osim možda komesara, nije ništa znao o njemu. (DS101.14)
  - Apart from the fact that he was an electrician, nobody in the company, except perhaps the Commissar, knew anything about him. (tr. p.100)
- (b) Ne znam ni koliko je poginulo. (DS153.29)
  - I don't even know how many men we've lost. (tr. p.151)
- (c) Partizanske veze koje treba da obezbede čamce za prelaz reke, znao je jedino Jovan, kurir. (DS156.13)
  - Only John the courier knew the Party contacts, who were to provide boats for them to cross the river. (tr. p.153)
- (d) Jovan za nesreću nije znao ime nijednog četničkog komandanta u Levču. (DS161.33)
  - Unfortunately John did not know the name of a single commanding-officer in Levač. (tr. p.158)
- (e) Nije znao koje je vreme. (DS200.18)
  - He did not know what time it was. (tr. p.194)

- (f) 'Je li domaćice, gde ti je muž?'  
Ne znam ja, bogami, gde je, tražite ga. (DS255.19)  
 - 'Tell me, where is your husband?'  
 'I don't know where he is; you look for him. (tr. p.244)
- (g) 'Ja ne znam šta je u pismu, možda nemam pravo da govorim.' (DS299.4)  
 - 'I don't know what's in the letter, and perhaps I've no right to speak.' (tr. p.286)
- (h) 'Ja znam gde stanuju.' (DS333.23)  
 - 'I know where they live.' (tr. p.319)
- (i) Znao je da je kod kuće samo ona ostala. (DS370.4)  
 - He knew that she was the only one left at home.  
 (tr. p.352)
- (j) 'I don't know what Robert is doing - he doesn't tell me.'  
 (P49.44)
- (k) Edward's secretary came up to me and asked me if I knew where he was. (P166.36)
- (l) They know where to find me if they want me. (P205.18)
- (m) 'Who's in charge of the milking?'  
 'I don't know, sir.' (P211.21)
- (n) And just as Ann knew where everything in the house was to be found, she had always the latest news of her father and her mother. (P256.3)
- (o) We exchanged letters at Easter and Christmas, but between while I sometimes did not know her address.  
 (P293.34)
- (p) I don't know what Amy believed, but her faith did not need theology. (P339.2)

In any of these contexts no other presupposition is attached to the verbs znati and know except the fact that (true) information has or has not been stored. All these examples can be paraphrased by:  
 X possesses/does not possess information Y.

The possibility of substituting be aware with the same meaning is not entirely clear. However, a few suggestions will be given here.

It seems, first of all, that it is not used in any context which might in any way presuppose involvement of the senses, and we have seen above that be aware also belongs to Group I, which would cause ambiguities. This might be a possible explanation for the non-occurrence of be aware in (2e).

Secondly, the native speaker of E feels that the use of be aware is more appropriate in a continuation of a thought or dialogue, than in its beginning. If (2h) were interpreted to mean initiation of a dialogue, the substitution of be aware would be questionable. If, on the other hand, it were interpreted as an answer to a question, the substitution would seem appropriate. (See also (2f) and (2m).)

Thirdly, the fact that this verb seems to carry more importance with it than znati and know do (and therefore has been positively specified for the feature /Importance/, see p. 121) might be a reason for non-substitutability of be aware in (2k) and 2l) in the contexts in which these sentences occurred in the material.

Particularly (2k) is interesting here since it relates to the feature /Speaker's knowledge/, see p. 94 . It is possible that if we are approached by someone with the question 'Are you aware of where he is', the dominant interpretation on our part would be that the speaker possesses information and is about to impart it. This interpretation might be caused by the positive specification of be aware for the feature /Importance/. Being unspecified for this feature, znati and know would, on the other hand, probably make the other interpretation equally possible. This suggestion is tentative, but it seems worth considering especially if an expression is analysed outside the context of situation. It is only then that we can observe that be aware differs from znati and know to a



large extent in what interpretation they may be given: while be aware would mostly be interpreted as /+Speaker's knowledge/, the interpretation of znati and know would tend to be that of /-Speaker's knowledge/. But, since intonation is very much part of a full examination of instances of this type, but has not been investigated here, we shall leave this question aside.

#### 6.4.1 GROUP III: /+Ability/ - /+Reasoning/

SC	E
spoznati	understand
razumjeti	comprehend
shvatiti	grasp
pojmititi	recognize
biti jasno	be clear
uvidjeti	conceive
misliti	think
vjerovati	believe

Within this group a few subgroups can be encountered, although they all, clearly, presuppose /+Reasoning/.

First of all, SC misliti and vjerovati and E think and believe, form a subgroup of their own, as negative-committals. Hence, these verbs are not normally readily substitutable with the same meaning for the rest of the group. (We return to them later, see p.180 .) Also, SC razumjeti and shvatiti and E understand, which as we shall see later, can be interpreted as /-Direct information/ in V +that +Sentence, and in that case belong to non-factives just like hear or feel can in such cases be substituted for the above four verbs in affirmative statements with a considerable overlap in meaning. Here, however, we shall look at them in cases when they are unspecified for the feature /Direct information/. (On the feature /Direct information/ see p.170 .)



Secondly, SC spoznati presupposes /Thinking/, while SC uvidjeti presupposes some kind of persuasion, whether verbal or otherwise. It also seems to presuppose /Acknowledgement/ and in this it is similar to E recognize (in one of its senses). Uvidjeti is, however, broader in meaning than spoznati since the latter is restricted by the feature /Thinking/, as possibly the only form of persuasiveness. As we have mentioned before, spoznati is not frequently, if at all, used in everyday speech in my dialect, but is confined to critical texts and literary works. The substitution between the two, then, tends to fall within these contexts. Here are a few examples of the three verbs:

3. (a) Istina, mi književno djelo ne možemo spoznati (...)

mimo njegova jezika. (OJ8.2)

- It is true that we cannot understand a literary work outside its language. (my tr.)\*

(b) Znanost tendira da spozna istinu o svijetu. (OSP26.2)

- Science strives to find out the truth about the world. (my tr.)\*\*

(c) Ona je uvidjela da se njena (...) patnja u izvjesnoj daljoj budućnosti može stišati i zacijeliti. (OF132.2)

- She realized that her suffering could in some distant future be soothed and healed. (my tr.)

(d) Kada su Pavlove akcije otkrile prisustvo njegove čete preko Morave, Nemci uvideše da je na Jastrepču ostao samo jedan deo partizana. (DS266.9)

- When Paul's activities revealed the presence of his platoon on the other side of the Morava, the Germans

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\* 'Literary work' is one object which uvidjeti and recognize do not accept, but if the object were 'value of a literary work', the substitution with the same meaning would be possible.

\*\* Realize, like uvidjeti, cannot be substituted in an overtly intentional context, hence its non-substitutability in the translation.

saw that only one section of the Partisans remained on the Jastrebac. (tr. p. 256)

(e) There was but one cause of bitterness between us, my jealousy of Edward. But that was not recognized; I did not allow myself to be jealous (...). (P22.3)

(f) I did not see that look again until the moment when he finally recognized his failure. (P195.37)

(g) I recognized my bitter disappointment (...). (P201.25)

It can be seen from the examples that, unlike uvidjeti, recognize does not necessarily presuppose any outside prompting, and can, therefore, be classed as unspecified for /Persuasion/. The same holds true for spoznati, which reflects some kind of resolution of the individual, and is outward bound. With uvidjeti, as with realize (these being /-Intention/), the direction of the coming change is inward bound (or towards the individual). But this distinction does not seem to prevent substitution and neutralization is achieved in the above examples. In a table, their relationships can be represented componentially in the following way:

TABLE 7

	ABILITY		
	REASONING		
	PERSUASION	THINKING	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
<u>spoznati</u>	-	+	0
<u>uvidjeti</u>	+	0	+
<u>recognize</u>	0	0	+
	SF	SF	SF

6.4.2 SC razumjeti, shvatiti, pojȃm̃iti, biti jasno and E understand, comprehend, grasp, be clear and conceive seem to presuppose a rather special kind of thinking, i. e. analytic thinking, which involves 'taking apart' all bits of information available to see how they 'fit

together'. These verbs are rather special in application in that they are one step removed from the presupposition of merely storing information. That is to say, the stored information is already implied in the contexts containing the above verbs, and what they presuppose, apart from taking for granted that information is obtained, is analysis of that information. We shall call this feature simply /Analysis/. The two-step process of storing information and analysing it is obvious in negative sentences. Examples in the material are numerous:

- 4.(a) Mislio je da Pavle ne razume seljake i njihovu nesreću.  
(DS125.39)

- He thought that Paul could not understand the peasants and their misfortunes. (tr. p.125)

- (b) Naljuti se, htjede da mu u lice skreše da nema ništa gluplje i jalovije no kad neko hoće da postane intelektualac na osnovu nekoliko pročitanih knjiga koje nije ni razumeo. (DS151.38)

- He felt angry, and wanted to tell Mirko straight to his face that there was nothing more stupid and pointless than trying to make oneself out to be an intellectual on the basis of a few books which had not even been properly understood. (tr. p.149)

- (c) On se nije ljutio niti je optuživao Brku i druge koji ga nisu shvatili. (DS303.14)

- He wasn't angry, and did not reproach Brka and the Comrades who had not understood them. (tr. p.290)

- (d) Ne mogu da pojmim da je neko mogao sa takvom tačnošću opisati nečiji život. (ZPS63.43)

- I can't conceive that anyone could describe somebody's life with such precision. (my tr.)

- (e) Aleksandru nije odmah bilo jasno na koje će ljude moći da se osloni. (NIN62)

- It was not immediately clear to Alexander which men

he could rely upon. (my tr.)

- (f) 'I can't understand why you want to go to Tolbrook.' (P11.4)
- (g) 'You understand nothing - nothing at all, and I don't think you ever will.' (P40.17)
- (h) I could not understand this marriage. (P51.17)
- (i) He never understood the force of moral conviction in certain souls, or its variety of forms. (P78.11)
- (j) And I can still see the look of his blue eyes fixed upon me with the appeal which I cannot understand. (P120.15)
- (k) But I did not understand what he meant. (P158.10)
- (l) She was frowning as if to concentrate on something that she could not grasp. (P273.36)
- (m) I still wonder how she divined wishes which were scarcely clear to myself. (P76.33)
- (n) 'I cannot conceive how you can make such a fearful object of yourself.' (P19.5)

Notice, however, that neutralization is possible in some of these contexts with znati and know. That is to say, znati and know, which are considered to be /-Analysis/, can, in some cases, be substituted for the verbs positively specified for this feature, with the same meaning. The substitution leading to neutralization (rather than change of meaning), is possible in V +Sentence constructions (see (4e), (4f), (4k), (4n)), and nominalizations (see (4i)). It is generally not possible in V +Object sentence constructions and, in fact, it is in these cases that the difference between /+Analysis/ and /-Analysis/ is most observable.

Native speakers seem to differ as to whether they think that there is a difference between znati/know and 'analysis' verbs even in V +Sentence constructions. It seems reasonable to maintain, therefore, that they are interchangeable, since we are here concerned primarily with accounting for all possibilities, i. e. including as a

possibility even something that is acceptable to only a few native speakers. Znati has, in the following example (5a), been replaced in the E translation by both know and understand. Interchangeability is also possible in (5b):

5.(a) 'Ja ne znam šta se to dešava sa vama.' (DS274.17)

- I don't know what is happening to you.' (tr. p. 263)

(b) 'Then I don't know why your digestion is so bad.' (P172.11)

(5a) is, at the same time, the most normal syntactic framework for biti svjestan when used in this sense.

But consider (4d). If znati/know were substituted here, the meaning would be changed in the same direction as with V +Object examples. From this we can conclude that V +Object constructions as well as V +that +Sentence constructions imply storing information, while other V +Sentence constructions imply analysis. So that now we can amend our statement from above and say that neutralization of znati/know with the verbs marked /+Analysis/ is possible only in V +Sentence constructions and, of these, with all but V +that +Sentence constructions.

A few more facts have been observed in connection with the 'analysis' verbs. First of all, since they are /+Analysis/, they also presuppose complexity of the analysed object. Secondly, the choice between /+Animate/ and /-Animate/ object in V +Object constructions presupposes a further difference in features. If the object is /+Animate/ the context presupposes /+Sympathy/. This holds true for SC razumjeti and shvatiti and E understand and comprehend. The rest of the group do not share this feature. Here are some examples:

6.(a) 'Ona me razume', pomisli radosno Uča i zagleda joj se u oči. (DS94.30)

- 'Yes, she understands me', thought Prof joyfully, and looked straight into her eyes. (tr. p. 94)

- (b) Otac je, treba ga razumjeti. (DS135.12)  
 - He is a father, one should understand him. (my tr.)
- (c) Želeo je da duševnu i živčanu prenapetost olakša i smiri pričajući s nekim svojim, bliskim, ko bi mogao da ga shvati i razume. (DS215.26)  
 - He wanted to relax his feeling of mental and nervous tension, and calm himself by talking to someone of his own type, near to him, who would be able to understand him. (tr. p. 208)
- (d) It is impossible for her to understand me or me to argue with her. (P192.17)
- (e) How can they understand us or our problems. (P196.14)
- (f) They don't understand children. (P298.19)
- (g) I suppose for all her love of Edward, she had never come very near to comprehending him. (P273.38)

(6c) is particularly interesting since both shvatiti and razumjeti are used with more or less the same meaning. It seems that the point of repetition is the emphasis needed for the expression of the thought. However, in (7), where the construction is V +that + Sentence, and where shvatiti is qualified by brzo ('quickly'), the difference between razumjeti, which is still /+Sympathy/, and shvatiti, which here is unspecified for this feature, is obvious:

7. Nešto poznajući ljude, a još više sluteći složenost čovekove prirode, Pavle, je razumeo i brzo shvatio da ljudi ne vole da se pokeravaju. (DS13.31)  
 - He had some knowledge of people and even more insight into the complexity of human nature, so he had quickly realized that people do not like to be submissive.  
 (tr. p. 17)

It seems that razumjeti and shvatiti are, therefore, substitutable with the same meaning if shvatiti is not qualified by an adverbial like brzo. Razumjeti cannot be qualified by the same adverbial in these contexts.



A further point with (7) is that the subject of the subordinate clause is /+Animate/, and also that emotions are expressed by the context. It seems that, whenever this is the case, razumjeti, shvatiti, understand and comprehend are interpreted as /+Sympathy/. Also, even if the subject of the subordinate clause is not /+Animate/, but emotions are expressed by the context, the verbs would still be assigned /+Sympathy/. Here are some examples from SC and E:

- 8.(a) Može se lako razumjeti zašto dramski umjetnici žele veća prava u društvenoi reformi. (OT12.1.3)  
 - One can understand why dramatists want greater rights in social reform. (my tr.)
- (b) An old house like this is charged with memory (...) but I can't expect a boy like Robert to understand that. (P26.6)
- (c) I understand now why you like her so much. (P74.10)
- (d) I asked him if he understood how greatly she had suffered. (P98.34)
- (e) As a woman, she perfectly understood why I liked to keep my dress on, even though I might appear ridiculous. (P150.34)

In addition to this, the same presupposition is present in V +Object constructions, where the object reflects emotional states. For example:

- 9.(a) Jovan je razumeo njenu brigu, ali i o onome što je znao nije hteo ništa odredjeno da joj kaže. (DS295.23)  
 - John understood the reason for her anxiety, but did not want to tell her anything definite about what he knew. (tr. p.283)
- (b) (...) while our mother with all her scrupulous anxiety to understand our troubles was at a loss among the violence and confusion of nursery affairs. (P29.18)
- (c) That room was forbidden to us by my father, who understood my mother's need of a refuge from her family. (P30.31)

- (d) I seemed to enter into the meaning of Lucy's life and to understand her happiness. (P61.31)
- (e) I felt now that I understood these looks of desperation which I had seen already a hundred times. (P142.35)
- (f) Now I understood his struggle. (P150.12)
- (g) Luckily Ann, even without looking at me, seemed to understand my distress. (P175.26)
- (h) For I saw that hair meant so much to the boy and that even barbers understood his secret desires. (P246.13)
- (i) I began to understand for the first time the anxiety of parents in wartime. (P246.39)

On the other hand, if the object or subject of the subordinate clause is not /+Animate/, or if the subordinate clause does not express emotional state, these verbs presuppose simply complexity of the object or the subject of the subordinate clause. For example:

- 10. (a) Njegovu misao razumeše svi i složiše se s njim. (DS334.15)  
 - They all understood his thoughts, and agreed with him.  
 (tr. p.319)
- (b) But I did not understand what he meant. (P158.10)
- (c) I understood that he was thinking of Tolbrook. (P158.17)
- (d) He understands the real workings of party politics.  
 (P20714)
- (e) She never understood the democratic process. (P207.35)
- (f) I do not know if I understood the nature of Amy's disaster. (P281.23)
- (g) We can understand new ideas in the world, but we cannot share new feelings. (P283.43)
- (h) Poor Tom, he doesn't comprehend great events when they take place in front of his eyes. (P182.41)

Among those verbs that are /-Sympathy/ E grasp and conceive are further restricted. Unlike the rest of the 'analysis' verbs that can be substituted in 'sympathy' contexts, but with a different meaning,



grasp generally does not occur in V +Object /+Animate/ at all and its application is restricted in the contexts discussed above. The native speaker of English feels that it can be substituted in (8d) and (10f). These two contexts show that grasp presupposes not only complexity of what is referred to by the object, but also the entire network of implications behind that complexity. Consider the following examples:

- 11.(a) For what is it, a fabric hanging in the air, a construction of ideas, sympathies, habits, something so impalpable that you cannot grasp it. (P239.35)
- (b) It was this terrible truth which I had grasped in the years 1913 and 1914, before that last and most savage of wars. (P240.8)

Clearly, here the verb expresses taking in and processing in the brain not only parts of what is referred to, or its major factors, but also its consequences and bearing on other events.

The other verbs do not seem to have the same requirement but, since they can be substituted for grasp in contexts like (11a-b) we shall assign to them zero specification with respect to the feature /Implication/.

E conceive is restricted in a different way. It involves imagination and indeed in one of its senses means 'to imagine'. Since imagination necessarily presupposes creativeness, conceive has been assigned the feature /+Creative/ on the basis of examples like (12):

12. I could conceive nothing more stupid than to proceed by zigzags. (P246.22)

No other verb of the group can be substituted in this purely 'creative' context which points out the fact that they are, in fact, /-Creative/. However, neutralization is possible in many other contexts, especially in contexts like (4n) above, or the context of (13):

13. (a) But no one could conceive where he was finding the money.

(P206.5)

(b) Seeing all at once that the girl was very white, and  
conceiving that she must be distressed, I went to bed.

(P210.9)

(c) She can never conceive that in the world's eyes he may  
have a different value. (P269.35)

The reason for non-substitutability of other verbs in (12) seems to be the overt expression of 'creativity' in V + Object constructions. Consider also the impossibility of substituting with the same meaning conceive (or know and znati) in (10h) or (14):

14. I don't speak to her because she cannot understand (...) the real solid world, where Lucy and I loved and fought.  
(P55.38)

By way of conclusion about the verbs of Group III (with the exception of misliti/think, vjerovati/believe), we can represent their relationships in a table:

TABLE 8

ABILITY							
Reasoning							
Persuasion		Ack' ment	Analysis - Complexity	Sym:Obj /+Anim./ Emotns.		Impli- cations	Creative
	Thinking						
spoznati	-	+	0	-			
uvidjeti	+	0	+	-			
razumjeti				+	+	0	-
shvatiti				+	+	0	-
pojmiti				+	-	0	-
biti jasno				+	-	0	-
znati				(0)			
biti svjestan				(0)			
recognize	0	0	+	-			
understand				+	+	0	-
comprehend				+	+	0	-
grasp				+	-	+	-
be clear				+	-	0	-
conceive				+	-	0	+
know				(0)			
	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF

Neutralization is possible in some contexts between 'analysis' verbs and 'persuasion' verbs with the exception of grasp and conceive which have restrictions in terms of the features /Implication/ and /Creative/ respectively.

Also, spoznati, being restricted by the feature /Thinking/ is sometimes difficult to substitute. But if we consider spoznati, uvidjeti and recognize contrasted with the rest of the verbs, in the above contexts, we shall be able to observe that the neutralization of features /Persuasion/ and /Analysis/ is possible mainly in V + Sentence constructions, especially of the type V + that + Sentence

and also with V + Object where the object is a nominalization.  
For example see (8b), (8c), (8d), (8e), (9c), (9d), (9f), (9h), (9i), (10c), (13b) and (13e).

#### 6.5 GROUP IV: /Ability/ - (/+Observation/ /+Storing/)

SC	E
čuti	hear
saznati	learn
doznati	(study)
poznavati	(teach)
upoznati	get to know
učiti	
(studirati)	

(the verbs in brackets have been introduced merely for comparison and are not considered anywhere else in the text.)

The main reason for grouping these verbs together is the fact that they presuppose not only storing information but also a specific kind of observation. This is particularly obvious, with, for example, SC čuti and E hear which presuppose mainly the sense of hearing (or the sense of vision, when reading). The rest of the verbs imply different senses in different contexts. For example, one can learn about something or somebody either by hearing about them, or by observing them. The same holds true for saznati, doznati and get to know, whereas with poznavati, upoznati, učiti and learn (in the sense of 'memorizing'), the stress is on personal observation which means that they can involve the reference not only to the sense of hearing or vision, but to the other senses as well.

We can, therefore, divide the verbs of this group (we shall see later that the division can be extended to the other verbs of this semantic field) into (a) those that presuppose hearsay (what we shall name /-Direct information/) (b) those that presuppose personal observation (/+Direct information/); and (c) those that are unspecified

with respect to this feature. As far as Group IV is concerned, SC čuti and E hear are negatively specified, poznavati, upoznati, učiti, studirati, learn (in the sense of 'memorizing'), study and teach are positively specified while saznati, doznati, learn (in the sense of 'obtaining information') and get to know seem to be unspecified unless the context itself presupposes /-Direct information/, in which case they are negatively specified (see p. 172).

6.5.1 Let us start with the positively specified sub-group: poznavati, upoznati, učiti, studirati, learn, study and teach.

Poznavati - imperfective and upoznati - perfective are mainly consequentially related because of their difference in aspect, but they both presuppose the same feature, which we shall call /Details/ and describe it as a feature that restricts those verbs to the contexts which involve knowledge of at least a few details about the object observed. But, there is a difference between them in terms of the sentence construction they enter: while poznavati is generally applicable only in V + Object constructions, upoznati can enter other constructions as well. Here are a few examples of poznavati and upoznati in V + Object constructions:

15. (a) Pred spavanje pregleda dečje pisanke, ispravlja, stavlja crvenom olovkom ocene, ne razmišljajući mnogo, jer on poznaje svako dete. (DS11.9)

- Before going to sleep he would look at the children's exercises, correct them and put in the marks with his red pencil, without bothering to think much, because he knew each child. (tr. p.15)

(b) Dobro poznajući komesara, Uča je ovaj njegov postupak tumačio kao lukavstvo sračunato da izazove kajanje i samokritiku kod njega. (DS14.20)

- Knowing the Commissar well, Prof interpreted his behaviour as a cunning and calculating ruse to arouse remorse and selfcriticism in himself. (tr. p.18)

- (c) Pre rata su se slabo poznavali i zazirali su jedan od drugoga. (DS41.36)
- Before the war they had hardly been acquaintances and had rather avoided each other. (tr. p.44)
- (d) Kostića je dobro poznavao. (DS340.17)
- He knew Kostić well. (tr. p.325)
- (e) Čete žive kao porodice, ljudi se naviknu jedan na drugog, do sitnica upoznaju jedan drugom život, mane i vrline, srode se i srastu. (DS145.10)
- The platoons lived like families, the men got used to one another, and knew to the last detail each other's way of life, and faults and virtues; something like a bond of kinship developed among them. (tr. p.143)
- (f) Ljudi se srodili sa opasnostima, privikli na težak život, upoznali vojničku smrt. (DS226.28)
- The men develop a kinship with danger, they are used to a hard life, and acquainted with a soldier's death. (tr. p.218)

In these contexts znati and know are readily substituted. Poznavati, like know, in some contexts indicates great similarity with (pre)poznati and recognize (from Group I) in that it presupposes /Memory:Repetitive/:

- 16.(a) Čobanče nije sanjalo da će poljske putanje na kojima je ono poznavalo svoju stopalu i krivi mali prst utisnut posle kiše, postati opasna mesta (...). (DS182.32)
- The peasant boy had not dreamt that the field paths on which he had recognized his footprint with its crooked toe after the rain would become a place of danger (...)
- (tr. p.177)
- (b) Ni jednu od tih stvari nije poznavao. (DS237.37)
- He did not recognize any of these things. (tr. p.229)
- (c) Bila je to neka žena koju on nije poznavao. (DS246.13)

- It was a woman whom he did not recognize. (tr. p. 237)

- (d) Almost at the same moment I seemed to remember the man's face; that he knew me. (P302. 29)

These examples show the close relationship between poznati perfective and poznavati imperfective, which is not obvious at first sight. Examination of examples under (15) and (16), on the other hand, reveals that, while poznavati, znati and know can be substituted in both kinds of contexts, i. e. in those that are unspecified for /Memory/ (as in (15)) and those that are positively specified for this feature (as in (16)), (pre)poznati and recognize are applicable only in (16). This indicates that (pre)poznati and recognize are hyponyms of poznavati and, therefore, of znati and know. The relation of implication can be represented as follows:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{(pre)poznati} \\ \text{recognize} \end{array} \right] \supset \text{poznavati} \supset \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{znati} \\ \text{know} \end{array} \right]$$

Unlike these verbs, upoznati can be di-transitive<sup>\*</sup>. By a di-transitive verb, in this context, is meant a verb which may take two objects, of which one refers to the person obtaining the information in question (which I will call for convenience 'the personal object') and the other referring to what is known or learned (which may be called 'the object known'). If the personal object is co-referential with the subject of the verb it will, of course, be expressed by a reflexive pronoun (in SC the form se). Consider the following examples:

- 17.(a) Najprije smo pokušali da se upoznamo (reflexive di-transitive) sa prirodom muzičkog obrazovanja u Sarajevu. (OI29. 2)

- We first of all tried to get acquainted with the nature of the musical education in Sarajevo. (my tr.)

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\* I am indebted to Prof. J. Lyons for bringing this term to my attention.



- (b) I vjerujem da će svaki budući ovakav izbor upoznati čitaoce (di-transitive) i sa autorima iz ovih gradova. (ZJ24.19)

- And I believe that every future selection of this kind will inform the readers about the authors from these cities. (my tr.)

SC učiti can also be di-transitive. If it is di-transitive, it is equivalent to E teach. If it is a simple transitive (with or without deletion of the known object), it may be translated by E study:

- 18.(a) 'Dobro da učiš! Cela kuća posti zbog tebe.' (DS179.36)

- 'Now mind you study well. The whole house is fasting because of you.' (tr. p.174)

- (b) 'Oću da učim školu za sudiju.'

'Ne ti ćeš da učiš za inženjera.

Mašine da praviš.' (DS280.23)

- 'I want to study to be a judge.'

'No you should study to be an engineer and make machines.' (tr. p.269)

- (c) Od njih se uči (reflexive di-transitive) šta treba učiniti

da bi se ponovilo čudo koje se zove pesma. (OSS19.4.1)

- He is learning from them what ought to be done so that the miracle called 'a poem' could be repeated. (my tr.)

- (d) Isto je tako vjerovatno da postoji brojna potencijalna

publika, koja se gubi jer je niko ne uči (di-transitive)

kako da sluša sa uživanjem klasičnu muziku. (OI29.2.2)

- It is also possible that a large potential audience exists which is being lost because nobody is teaching it how to listen with pleasure to classical music. (my tr.)

- (e) Za njega se ne zna gdje je tačno učio muziku. (OMZ30.3.1)

- It is not known where exactly he studied music. (my tr.)



While study in E seems to be used with respect to all levels of education, studirati in SC is confined to higher education. Therefore, 'učiti engleski' and 'studirati engleski' automatically differentiate between /-Higher education/ and /+Higher education/ respectively. In the rural areas of Yugoslavia, however, učiti is used as an overall verb (as in example (18b)).

SC učiti and studirati and E learn and study are also restricted by the feature /Memory/, except that in their case the memory is not necessarily repetitive, but, rather, cumulative, in the sense that it need not be the case that one and the same event or object is being referred to. We shall, therefore, name this feature /Memory: Cumulative/. The point is clear from the examples in (18) but here are some with learn:

- 19.(a) As for my age, did not Caxton begin to learn Greek at sixty? (P16.33)
- (b) And all the history she ever learnt was army history. (P41.36)
- (c) 'He hasn't learnt yet when it's time to stop playing', Lucy would answer, 'and unless he learns it now he'll never learn it.' (P215.35)
- (d) Death is a great teacher - from him men learn what are the things they value. (P252.27)
- (e) A woman came every day to give her lessons, which she learned very easily, and yet with anxiety. (P255.8)
- (f) And what do they learn in the new schools, egotism, materialism. (P307.39)

The features that SC poznavati, upoznati, učiti, studirati and E learn, study, teach take, can be represented in a table:

TABLE 9

## ABILITY

Observation and Storing Details Memory				
	Repetitive	Cumulative	Di- transitive	Higher Education
(znati)	0	0	-	0
poznavati	0	0	-	0
upoznati	-	0	0	0
učiti	-	+	0	-
studirati	-	+	-	+
(know)	0	0	-	0
learn	-	+	-	0
study	-	+	-	0
teach	-	-	+	0
	SF	SF	SF	SF

Learn and study are not synonymous, as it appears from the table.

The application of study, as well as studirati, is restricted to perusal of textbooks and cannot apply in 'experience' contexts (as in 'I learnt to avoid him' (P122.33) or 'They have learnt from experience how much the young trust to luck' (P212.21) ) or 'skill' contexts (see p.189 ), since studirati and study seem to be narrower in scope. Rather, it seems that they are <sup>here</sup> hyponyms of learn and učiti.

6.6 There are verbs of this semantic field that are negatively specified for the feature /Direct information/. Such are SC čuti and E hear. What I mean by /-Direct information/ is in fact the necessary condition of a threefold relationship between: the person that receives information, the source of information and the object or situation referred to. While the receiver is /+Animate/,

/+Human/, the source and the object may be either positively or negatively specified for animacy. The source can be a variety of things from a human being to various kinds of media. What is important, however, is the triangle of the receiver, the source and the object. This triangle is maintained even if it is explicit in the context that the source and the object are referentially identical (as in 'I heard from John himself that he was leaving for Canada'). Also in contexts like (20):

20. Uča reče da će on govoriti na kraju kad čuje šta ostali misle. (DS22.14)
- Prof said that he would speak at the end when he had heard what the others thought. (my tr.)

In support of the argument, here are some examples with čuti and hear:

21. (a) Čuo je iz razgovora apsenika da je upravnik zatvora neki dobar čovek. (DS171.16)
- He gathered from the conversation of the prisoners that the governor was a good sort. (tr. p. 166)
- (b) 'A od koga si to čula?' (DS323.33)
- 'And who did you hear this from?' (tr. p. 309)
- (c) 'Čuo sam od nekih ljudi da je to nemački čovek.' (DS175.17)
- 'I've heard from certain people that he is working for the Germans.' (tr. p. 170)
- (d) We heard by wire that John was coming home from a German hospital. (P258.4)

We notice with the examples of (21) that the threefold relationship is overtly marked by: iz razgovora apsenika ('from the conversation of the prisoners'), od koga ('from whom'), od nekih ljudi ('from certain people'), by wire. But even if this part of the triangle is not overtly expressed, the contexts in which čuti and hear appear are /-Direct information/:

22. (a) 'Majku ti ubili, to si sigurno čuo,' (DS238.35)  
 - 'Your mother was killed, I suppose you must have heard.' (tr. p.230)
- (b) Zašto nije pobjegla? Zašto kad je sigurno čula da su partizani došli? (DS289.12)  
 - But why hadn't Branka run away? Why not, when she must have heard the Partisans had come? (tr. p.277)
- (c) Kad partizani čuše da je Uča ranjen, počеше da beže uz kosu. (DS 328.31)  
 - When the Partisans heard that Prof had been wounded, they began to run along the slope. (tr. p.314)
- (d) 'Have you heard that Tolbrook is being sold, to be pulled down?' (P15.30)
- (e) But when, three months later, we heard that Lucy had married Brown, I spoke again scornfully of her. (P69.11)
- (f) We had heard, of course, that he was a rising man. (P120.32)
- (g) For at that time, I knew nothing of the woman except what I had heard. (P316.18)

The difference between čuti and hear and saznati, doznati, learn and get to know is interesting in that if the latter group occur in contexts that are /-Direct information/ (that is to say, if the three-fold relationship of receiver - source - object is implied), they are clearly negatively specified. Otherwise, they are neutralized in a context. Let us first consider contexts marked /-Direct information/:

23. (a) Koliko je dana prošlo od kazne? Mora to odmah saznati. (DS61.18)  
 - How many days was it since his punishment had started? He must know at once. (tr. p.62)
- (b) 'Zavite me brzo', reče, želeći da što pre ustane da sazna ishod borbe. (DS88.32)

- 'Tie me up quickly', he said; he wanted to get up as soon as possible and find out the outcome of the battle. (tr. p. 88)
- (c) Zar ja tek ovde da saznam da se Nemci povlače?  
(DS323.5)
  - And to think that it was here that I heard the Germans had withdrawn. (tr. p. 309)
- (d) 'Ako saznaju da ste sišli, sve će da nas pobiju.' (DS320.9)
  - 'If they get to know that you've come down here, they'll kill off the lot of us.' (tr. p. 306)
- (e) Plašio se da neće imati snage da napusti ovaj kraj dok ne bude doznao šta je sa Brankom. (DS284.37)
  - He was afraid that he would not have the strength to leave this district until he had found out what had happened to Branka. (tr. p. 273)
- (f) I pre desetak dana doznao sam da on više njima nije potreban. (OK22.3.4)
  - Ten days ago I learnt that they didn't need him any more. (my tr.)
- (g) But I did learn from Edward that according to his man, the between-maid at home was not entirely virtuous.  
(P76.11)
- (h) And in truth, as I learnt at a later time from one who had been a Benjamite, Lucy was a terror to Brown.  
(P97.30)

(There are no examples in the original E material with get to know, but it is obvious that it can be substituted in all contexts under (23).)

The peculiarity of these verbs, therefore, lies in the fact that, unlike some verbs that are unspecified for /Direct information/ and in examples like those under (23) would still remain unspecified, these verbs actually indicate negative specifications. (For example, if we consider substituting find out in (23f), we would not be able to

tell how that information had been obtained: whether indirectly, or through direct observation.)

But, in contexts that themselves are unspecified for this feature, saznati, doznati, learn and get to know also seem to be unspecified:

24.(a) Kasnije već, u Sibiru, doznala sam da Ilić nije ništa manje od mene čitao klasike. (ZS13.14)

- Later yet, in Siberia, I learnt that Ilić did not read classics any less than myself. (my tr.)

(b) (...) a ja sam verovao da niko nikada neće saznati moje podmukle namere (...) Verujem da to nikada niko ne bi doznao da vi niste obelodanili u svojoj knjizi. (ZPS62.46)

- (...) and I believed that nobody would ever find out about my mean intentions (...) I believe that nobody would have ever discovered it if you hadn't revealed it in your book. (my tr.)

All four verbs are interchangeable and here unspecified for the feature /Direct information/. The instances of (24) bring out the point of contextual neutralization very clearly. That is, since these verbs have been found to be negatively specified for this feature in contexts that are themselves negatively specified, and since they in unspecified contexts carry neutral specifications, they are, in fact, inherently /-Direct information/, but they become unspecified in contexts where a specification is not important or not required.

Saznati and learn, but not the other two can also be used in contexts that are clearly /+Direct information/. For example:

25.(a) 'Da, da! Sve je drukčije i mnogo drukčije no što je nekad bilo', pomisli Pavle sa osećanjem razočarenja u sebe, kao da večeras prvi put sve ovo saznaje. (DS183.1)

- 'Yes, indeed! Everything is different, very different,

from what it used to be', thought Paul, with a feeling of disappointment in himself, as though all these things were clear to him for the first time this evening.

(tr. p. 177)

- (b) 'Moja četa je uništena. Ona više ne postoji', užasavao se Uča kao da to prvi put saznaje. (DS324.11)

- 'My platoon has been wiped out. It does not exist any more', Prof was filled with horror, as though he realized this fact for the first time. (tr. p. 310)

- (c) U takvim napisima pesnika se pokazuje da je čovek saznajući svet oko sebe i oduševljavajući se njime zaboravio sebe (...) (ZSO31.7)

- In such writings of poets it can be seen how a man forgets himself in trying to understand the world around him and in being thrilled by it. (my tr.)

- (d) For even this Ann, this Robert, are so changed in a single night, that I must learn them again in the morning. (P109.16)

Instances of (25) show how closely these two verbs are related to some of the verbs of Group III. Clearly, spoznati and all the 'analysis' verbs are substitutable here. (Uvidjeti is restricted in its occurrence with V + Object constructions, and, therefore, inapplicable in (25e) and (25d). )

The relationship of saznati, doznati, learn and get to know can be summarized thus:



TABLE 10

## ABILITY

	Observation and Storing		Reasoning
	-Direct inf.	Unspecified	+ Direct inf.
saznati	+	0	0
doznati	+	0	-
learn	+	0	0
get to know	+	0	-
	SF	SF	SF

6.6.1 The feature /Direct information/ is, in fact, relevant for most of the verbs outside Group IV. They are either negatively specified or unspecified for this feature.

If we examine the substitutability of znati in the instances (20) - (25), we can observe that the substitution is possible:

- a. unless /-Direct information/ is overtly marked as in (21), (22g), (23g), (23h);
- b. unless the aspectual feature /+Event/ is overtly marked by a time adverbial, as in (20), (22c), (23b), (23e), (23d), (23f), (24a), (25a), (25b), (25d).

(The situation with respect to E know is less clear. Some speakers suggest that it can be used in at least some of these contexts; and there is at least one context of this kind in the material, example (26). But many native speakers have rejected its acceptability, on the grounds of infrequency of use in current English:

26. When Edward knew the story of the maid (...) he laughed and said (...) (P78.7) )

- c. unless the aspectual feature /Process/ is overtly marked (as in (25c) );

It may be noted that tad/then, as adverbials, are acceptable with znati/know, but in that case they are consequentially related with



čuti and hear. For example:

27. And then we heard that he had married a young girl.  
(P205.10)

The substitutability of vidjeti and see is restricted in a different way, due to the fact that these two verbs are in another semantic field marked /+Visual/. Hence the impossibility of substituting them in contexts which would be made ambiguous with respect to this feature, as, for example, in (22), (23c), (23d), (23f), (25c) and (25d). /+Visual/ is, therefore, presupposed in vidjeti and see if the objects referred to in the context are marked /+Concrete/.

The substitution of vidjeti and see in sentences of (21) shows that the overt marker of /-Direct information/ is not always a restriction on substitutability. From (21a) it is obvious that the restriction does not apply if the person referred to by the subject of the sentence is not necessarily the receiver of information. Otherwise the restriction holds, as in (21b-d), (23g-h).

Otkriti and discover also have different restrictions. Their substitutability for čuti / hear is restricted with respect to the feature /Intention/ in the contexts that mark past actions, where čuti / hear are unspecified for /Intention/, and otkriti / discover might in some cases be interpreted as intentional as in (22a-g).

Neutralization between these verbs is possible in contexts referring to non-past actions. Consider them in examples (23a - e).

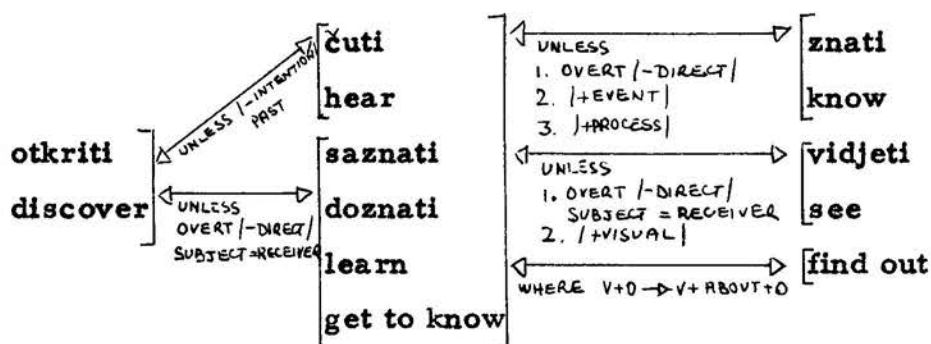
Since saznati, doznati, learn and get to know can also be interpreted as intentional in the same context as otkriti / discover, the substitution is possible in most cases: e.g. (23a - f), (24), (25).

In contexts overtly marked /-Direct information/ otkriti / discover behave like vidjeti / see.

Find out behaves similarly to otkriti/discover, except that its substitution is not restricted by contexts being overtly marked /-Direct information/, see (21), (23g - h).

In (25c - d) find out would have to appear in the construction V +about +Object.

We can represent the relationships schematically as follows:



We can, therefore, conclude from the above examples that the verbs discussed are unspecified for the feature /Direct information/. Apart from 'skill' verbs (see p. 189), for which this feature does not seem to be relevant, and apart from misliti, vjerovati, think and believe (discussed on pp. 182-189), we can now list the specification of verbs of knowledge and understanding for this feature. It seems plausible, in as far as it was possible to judge from the examples in the material, to assign the verbs the following specifications:

I / +Direct information/

SC

saznati

spoznati

razumjeti

shvatiti

pojmiti

biti svjestan

biti jasno

poznavati

upoznati

(pre)poznati

naučiti

studirati

uvidjeti

osjetiti

primijetiti

zapaziti

opaziti

uočiti

E

understand

comprehend

grasp

be clear

be conscious

realize

recognize

make out

study

learn

teach

feel

notice

perceive

conceive

II / -<sup>+</sup> Direct information/

SC

znati

saznati

doznati

biti svjestan

vidjeti

otkriti

razumjeti

shvatiti

pojmiti

biti jasno

E

know

be aware

see

learn

get to know

discover

find out

understand

comprehend

grasp

be clear

### III /-Direct information/

SC	E
<u>čuti</u>	<u>hear</u>
saznati	learn
doznati	get to know

The verbs that are assigned only positive specifications (underlined under I) have been found not to occur (at least not frequently) in /-Direct information/ contexts, and (as we have seen above) only čuti/hear as negatively specified, never occur in any other type of context. We can go even further and say that the verbs only marked '+' and the verbs only marked '-' (apart from saznati, doznati, learn and get to know which are exceptions) are inherently /+Direct information/ and /-Direct information/ respectively.

6.6.2 It seems convenient at this point to examine a group of verbs in terms of the feature /+ Direct information/ in order to see in what way the feature /+ Factivity/ is relevant and in what way it influences their substitutability for each other. We have in mind the following verbs:

SC	E
razumjeti	understand
shvatiti	hear
čuti	feel
osjetiti	think
misliti	believe
vjerovati	

We have seen (see p. 53 ) that, on the basis of the 'but' test, the above verbs have been thought to be: (a) non-factives (razumjeti, shvatiti, čuti, osjetiti, understand, hear, feel); and (b) negative-committals (misliti, vjerovati, think, believe).

These verbs will be examined with respect to such contexts as

(28), i. e. with respect to the construction V + that + Sentence.

28. I understand that he has brought back nothing from  
his ten years' farming in Canada and South America.  
(P18.8)

Clearly, this context indicates information indirectly obtained and we can conclude that the verb understand is in such contexts marked /-Direct information/. It is also in such contexts used most frequently in the present tense. What about the other verbs?

As far as razumjeti and shvatiti are concerned, it seems that (28) would be translated into SC by the construction kako sam ja razumio/shvatio ('as I understood it'). Notice that the translation is rendered by the past tense rather than the present tense. The meaning, however, remains essentially the same as in (28). It seems, therefore, plausible to take this construction as the one that will, with respect to these two verbs, correctly render in SC two features: /-Factive/ and /-Direct information/. The difference between SC and E here lies in two factors. One is tense difference, and the other overt vs. covert expression of the feature /-Factive/. But the differences are, obviously, not crucial, since the semantic similarity is preserved.

We can now establish the following correlation between the three verbs:

razumjeti	]      'kako sam ja' ← → understand
shvatiti	

SC čuti and E hear are used in both past and present tense with approximately the same meaning. Here are some examples:

29. (a) Bio je pre rata kaplar kao ja, a sada je, čujem  
(present), prešao za narednika i komanduje  
četom. (DS173.36)  
- He was a corporal like me before the war, but I

hear he's become an officer and is in command  
of a platoon. (tr. p. 169)

- (b) 'Šta je? Čujem (present) da si ranjen. Gde?'  
 (DS89.22)

- 'What's the matter? I hear you're wounded.  
Where?' (tr. p. 89)

- (c) 'Čula sam (past) da se preko Morave pojavio neki  
veliki odred.' (DS323.10)

- 'I heard that a big company had appeared on the  
other side of the Morava.' (tr. p. 309)

- (d) I hear Mrs. Eels is a very nice woman and she has  
helped Edward a lot in his worries. (P87.33)

- (e) 'But Edward, I heard you were rather intimate with  
a certain lady.' (P70.6)

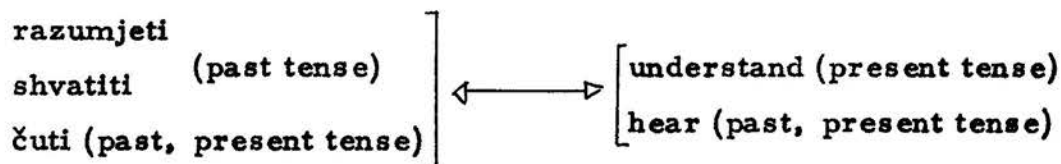
- (f) 'I heard that your Tolbrook congregation was less  
than it used to be.' (P290.29)

- (g) When I heard that Amy was dying I couldn't believe  
it. (P336.3)

(The non-commitment is explicitly stated in (29g) by the phrase 'I couldn't believe it'.)

The relationship of the above three verbs with cuti and hear can, therefore, be represented as follows:

/Non-factive/ /-Direct information/



From the substitution of vjerovati and believe in the above examples, it appears that the feature /-Direct information/ is preserved if they are employed in the present tense. See examples (28), (29e), (29d). It is hard to decide what exactly happens if they are used in the past tense. It seems, from examples (29c) and (29f) either that neutralization occurs, or that the verbs become /+Direct

information/. If we examine vjerovati and believe in contexts for misliti and think, we shall soon be convinced that vjerovati and believe are, in fact, unspecified for the feature /Direct information/ and that they can occur in contexts specified as /-Direct information/, as well as contexts marked /+Direct information/. Consider vjerovati and believe when substituted for misliti and think, which, as is obvious both from the examples above and from (30), are positively specified for the feature /Direct information/:

30. (a) Ljudi misle da mi ne znamo šta hoćemo. (DS15.23)

- The men think that we don't know what we want.

(tr. p. 19)

(b) Uča je zadovoljno osluškivao razgovor i mislio da je kriza prošla i da ih sad više niko ne može pobediti. (DS89.7)

- Prof listened happily to the conversation, and thought that the crisis was over and that they would not be defeated again. (tr. p. 89)

(c) U daljini se crneo dugi niz drveća gubeći se ka Moravi. Jovan pomisli da bi to mogla biti šumica, pa pojuvi u tom pravcu. (DS197.13)

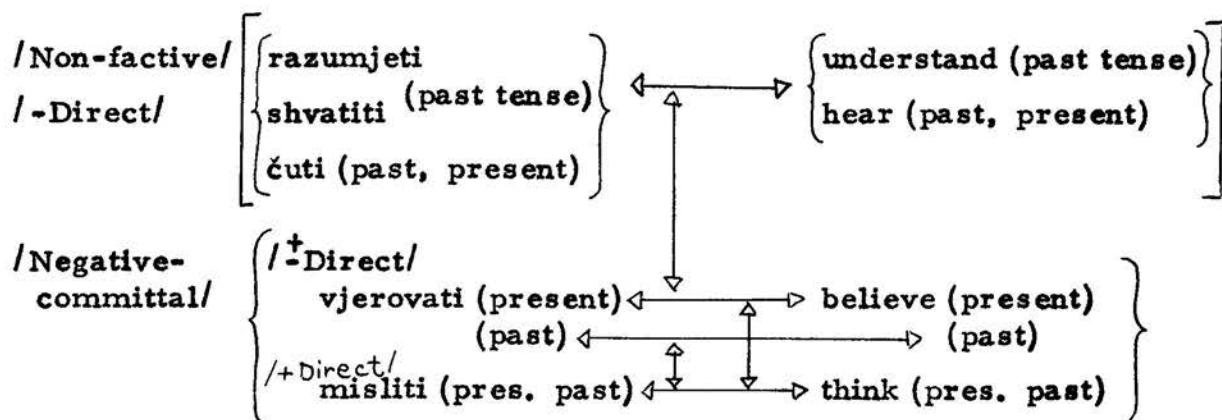
- In the distance was a black line of trees, gradually disappearing from sight in the direction of the Morava. John thought that it might be a little wood, so he hurried in that direction. (tr. p. 91)

(d) I think I know what it means to have perfect faith. (P141.21)

(e) She thinks that because I am old I know nothing about the real world in which she lives. (P163.33)

(f) I thought she was asking me a question, but I did not know what it was. (P199.21)

The picture of the relationships increases in complexity:



Osjetiti and feel, which are non-factives, share the feature / +Direct information/ with misliti and think and can be replaced by them, as well as by vjerovati and believe, in contexts like the following:

31. (a) Jovan oseti da odbijanje javke čini ubedljivom njegovu laž i pretvaranje. (DS169.7)  
 - John felt that his refusal to give a code made his lies and deception more convincing. (tr. p. 164)
- (b) Sukob u štabu, podvojenost ćelije (...) bili su, osećao je, u stvari ne samo izrazi neslaganja u taktici, već opasnost za odred. (DS129.30)  
 - Conflicts among the Staff, differences of opinion in the cell (...) - these he felt to be not only expressions of different opinions as to tactics, but a source of danger to the company.  
 (tr. p. 128)
- (c) We felt that she was a special cat, quite different from the kitchen and yard cats. (P31.15)
- (d) I had written to him about an alteration in my will. For I felt I ought to make some special provision for Ann. (P32.15)
- (e) I feel that here is someone eager to be my understanding friend. (P73.10)
- (f) She has turned herself into a char because she feels that her own class is finished. (P72.2)



- (g) I felt that for his own sake I ought to tell him that  
his appearance must be painful to Ann. (P79.2)
- (h) I felt that Lucy, as my mother said, was beyond  
us; an unreasonable creature. (P96.34)
- (i) They feel that they have better things to do than to  
gossip and dance and be polite. (P141.33)
- (j) But I don't feel I ought to let Robert walk right  
over me. (P191.24)
- (k) I felt that it was I who had committed some crime.  
(P193.13)
- (l) The old man felt, for that moment only, that he was  
an instrument of government, that he disposed  
supreme power. (P198.2)
- (m) And I felt perhaps that to bring a Julie to Tolbrook  
would be an impiety to my father's house, now in  
my care. (P209.4)
- (n) Nothing, I felt, was worse for a girl in her situation  
than idleness. (P224.15)
- (o) 'You see, he feels that he has disappointed us all.'  
(P267.17)
- (p) People like John feel that they aren't wanted.  
(P277.5)

Yet, a difference can be observed, quite clearly, if not with respect to other verbs, then certainly with respect to misliti and think, if substituted in these contexts and elsewhere (see examples below).

From (31), it is clear that osjetiti and feel are non-factive, i. e. they presuppose no commitment of the speaker as to either truth or falsity of the complement. But the substitution of misliti and think brings out the fact that, at least in some contexts, these two verbs can be held to presuppose, even in the affirmative sentences, falsity of the complement. For example, (31c) perhaps implies that that particular cat was not at all special. See also (31f),

(31k), (31o), (31p).

It seems that this also holds true for vjerovati and believe. See again especially (31c), (31f), (31o), (31p). And, indeed, all the other examples of (30) can have a similar interpretation with respect to misliti/think, vjerovati/believe.

Here are some more examples with feel to prove the point. Consider the substitution of misliti and think in:

32. (a) For I had not before remembered Amy so well,  
and I felt that I had done her great injustice in  
her life. (P111.19)
- (b) We felt that our lives had fallen in an age of  
revolutions and heroic adventures. (P139.21)
- (c) The very beauties of the place, the glitter of  
flowers, the scents, the waving branches (...) increased my panic. For I felt that I did not  
belong among them. (P210.35)
- (d) 'Yes', Edward said, 'there's another group of  
war welcomers. I'd forgotten them - the people  
who feel that the world is wicked - that it  
deserves punishment.' (P226.13)
- (e) I felt that he was to be an honour to the Wilchers.  
(P232.23)
- (f) At once, feeling perhaps that I was not inclined  
for a sail, he added, 'But perhaps we had better  
wait for a better day.' (P232.37)
- (g) I felt (...) that harm had been done. (P287.32)

This might indicate that the negative-committals misliti, think, vjerovati and believe (which presuppose the commitment of the subject to the falsity of the complement in negative statements, as in 'He doesn't think she's going to marry Robert') in some instances carry over the presupposition of the commitment to the

falsity of the complement also to the affirmative statements. In any case, such interpretation is possible.

Notice also that such interpretation is not excluded even with non-factives like razumjeti, čuti, understand (past tense) and hear. My intuition about SC interprets razumjeti and shvatiti in the construction Subject + V (past tense) + that + Sentence ('Ja sam razumio/shvatio') as presupposing the falsity of the complement, so that in (28) the complement 'that he has brought back nothing ...' is taken to be false. And, in fact, that is most probably the reason for overt marking of non-commitment by kako sam ja razumio/shvatio ('as I understood it').

As a final point about this group of verbs, we should point out that the substitution of the above four negative-committals in contexts for osjetiti/feel, depends very much on how prominent in the context is the feature /Observation/ which, as we have seen (see p.145 ), involves the senses. Being unspecified for /Specific sense/, osjetiti/feel tend to express a less clearly formulated awareness, or a less ready ability to account for it. If the feature is strongly felt in a context and cannot be neutralized as in (31) and (32), the substitution is inappropriate. For example:

33. (a) Pavle oseći da bi sad mogao potpuno da ga prelomi. (DS136.19)  
- Paul felt that he could now soften him up completely. (tr. p.134)
- (b) Jovan oseći da je došao trenutak. (DS196.33)  
- John felt that the moment had come. (tr. p.190)
- (c) Pavle oseći da ovakav ton vredja Maksima. (DS218.19)  
- Paul felt that Maxim was offended by this tone. (tr. p.210)
- (d) Bio je u groznici, osećao je da se velika stvar događa, sudbonosna za odred. (DS144.23)

- He was trembling feverishly: he felt that something very important was happening, something fateful for the company. (tr. p. 142)
- (e) Osećao je da su u pitanju minuti. (DS205.27)
  - He felt that it was indeed a question of minutes. (tr. p. 199)
- (f) Osećao je da ona mora da iskaže sve što ima. (DS302.15)
  - He felt that she had to unburden herself completely. (tr. p. 289)
- (g) But now, as I pace restlessly through the lower rooms, I feel it is something deeper, more passionate. (P89.16)
- (h) He paused and I felt that he had plumped the word out in defiance of embarrassment. (P227.12)
- (i) And I felt that not only Edward but I too was receding into a past which was irrecoverable. (P283.32)

We can therefore summarise the relationships of the verbs of this group componentially in the following way:

TABLE 11

	Non-Factive	Negative-committal		Direct info.	Observation
			Aff'itive Statmts.		
razumjeti	+	-	0	-	-
shvatiti	+	-	0	-	-
čuti	+	-	0	-	-
osjetiti	+	-	-	+	+
misliti	-	+	0	+	-
vjerovati	-	+	0	0	-
understand	+	-	0	-	-
hear	+	-	0	-	-
feel	+	-	-	+	+
think	-	+	0	+	-
believe	-	+	0	0	-
			SF	SF	SF

From the table it is clear that substitution with overlapping meaning is possible (a) between razumjeti, shvatiti, čuti, vjerovati, understand, hear and believe in contexts presupposing /-Direct information/; and (b) between osjetiti, misliti, vjerovati, feel, think and believe in contexts presupposing /+Direct information/.

It can also be seen that the commitment of the speaker to the falsity of the complement can, in some contexts, be presupposed by all the verbs except osjetiti and feel.

6.7 GROUP V: /Ability/ - (/+Observation/ /+Storing/  
/ +Reasoning/)

SC		E	
vidjeti	otkriti	see	discover
zapaziti		make out	find out
uočiti		perceive	

Rather than considering it on its own, we shall explain briefly here what is thought to be the difference between this group and Group I in terms of /Ability/, since they seem to overlap to a large extent.

First of all, it seems evident that the difference between the two groups is that, while the verbs of Group I (biti, svjestan, prepoznati, osjetiti, primijetiti, opaziti, realize, recognize, be conscious, be aware, feel and notice (see p. 145) ) stop short of any implication other than that of the one presupposing the feature /Observation/, the verbs of Group V seem to go further in that they imply observation in order to store information, and in order to be able to reason upon it. This might explain, for example, the difference between otkriti/discover and primijetiti, opaziti/notice. The difference is, it seems, due to the feature /Importance/, for which otkriti/discover are positively specified and primijetiti, opaziti/notice are not; also it seems to be due to the feature /Intention/ which is present in otkriti/discover in negative statements, direct questions and some statements in the future tense; in primijetiti/notice in direct questions and the future tense statements; and not at all in opaziti (see p. 136). But, since negative statements can be regarded as the most conclusive evidence of the presence of the feature /Intention/ in a verb, and it is present in otkriti/discover and the other verbs of Group V, this influences the kind of context which the two groups can enter. As a result, the difference is also felt in affirmative statements like the following:

34. (a) Vereš je dakle otkrio dva antipodna tipa ljudi.

(OJN18.1.3)

- Vereš has therefore discovered two contrasting types of people. (my tr.)

(b) And several years passed before I discovered, or rather one of my tenants discovered, that a

great part of the works was missing. (P320.4)

The native speaker feels that the substitution of primijetiti, opaziti/notice is insufficient or inadequate to indicate the significance of the situation.

However, the basic difference between the two groups seems to lie in the fact that Group I presupposes stimulus on the senses (see p. 145), whereas Group V is unspecified with respect to the feature. As a consequence, Group I, especially primijetiti, opaziti/notice, may reflect more casual observation, in other words information obtained without being sought and without effort, whereas Group V can be used with respect to information usually obtained with effort and not easily observed. Let us contrast discover and notice again in the following examples:

35. (a) (...) and he had a small boy's astonished and aggrieved air when he discovered that we had not been shooting or fishing or picnicking lately. (P108.13)
- (b) For I have discovered that old people can enjoy life with as much appreciation as a child eats his breakfast. (P37.25)
- (c) This was the secret I had discovered when, at the outbreak of war, I stood in a row with the other volunteers and found that we were friends. (P301.20)
- (d) For I thought that long before that, the family would discover where I was. (P315.19)
36. (a) So I had time to notice how well Sara looked after both my houses. (P36.15)
- (b) Now I had noticed this look once or twice before. (P181.32)
- (c) She does not notice the apple-scented lanes,



the bright crops. (P325.40)

- (d) Ann got up and left the room so skilfully  
that I did not notice that she had gone till I  
turned to her again. (P340.34)

If we express componentially the kind of observation implied in primijetiti, opaziti/notice as /-Effort/ and also if we assume that the stimulus of the senses is directly connected with the feature /Direct information/, we can draw a few conclusions about the contexts in (35) and (36) with respect to the interchangeability of discover and notice. In terms of these two features we can conclude that:

- (35a) = /-Direct information/, /<sup>+</sup>Effort/  
(35b), (35c) = /+Direct information/, /<sup>+</sup>Effort/  
(35d) = /<sup>+</sup>Direct information/, /-Effort/  
(35a - d) = /+Direct information/, /-Effort/

As for the verbs of Group I and Group V, we can see that Group I are all /+Direct information/ since they all require some kind of stimulus of the senses, but Group V can be divided into:

- (a) /+Direct information/  
SC E  
zapaziti make out  
uočiti perceive  
and (b) /<sup>+</sup>Direct information/  
SC E  
vidjeti see  
otkriti discover  
find out

With respect to the feature /Effort/, we can observe from the examples above, as well as from the contexts given below, that Group I, all except prepoznati and recognize, are /-Effort/, and these two are /<sup>+</sup>Effort/. Of Group V, only make out seems to



be positively specified\* and the rest are unspecified. Here are some more examples with the verbs of Group V which will show also when neutralization is possible:

37.(a) 'Situacija je ozbiljna. To vi i sami vidite.'

(DS62.6)

- 'Our situation is serious. You can see that for yourselves.' (tr. p.63)

(b) Kasnije, kad se videlo da će revolucija biti ne samo ustanak, već i jedan dugotrajan rat odred se smanjio. (DS117.12)

- Later, when it was clear that the Revolution would not be just a rising, but a long drawn-out war, the numbers of the company decreased. (tr. p.116)

(c) Jedan inostrani kritičar zapazio je kako čudesna lepota lirike našeg pesnika počinje da impresionira i najmladje potomke Edgara Alana Poa. (OSS19.4)

- A foreign critic has perceived how the peculiar beauty of the lyricism of our poet is also beginning to impress the youngest descendants of Edgar Allan Poe. (my tr.)

(d) Dva toka, vazda, mogu da se uoče u bezmalo svakoj Slavičkovoj pesmi. (ZMS21.40)

- Two currents can always be perceived in almost every poem by Slaviček. (my tr.)

(e) Ali zna da će uspjeti samo ako otkrije svoj unutrašnji svijet. (ZL10.48)

- But he knows that he will succeed only if he discovers his inner world. (my tr.)

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\* And this seems to be the reason for the possibility of substituting this verb for the verbs marked /+Analysis/.

- (f) Yet when I examine myself, as now, in a long glass, with Ann's eyes, I see that I must be a queer object to a stranger. (P10.11)
- (g) But now I saw that to the wanderer all this world is home. (P301.16)
- (h) This would not alarm me so much if I could make out what goes on in the girl's head. (P9.17)
- (i) And I perceived already that these brilliant young men, like Edward, found me dull and foolish. (P71.36)
- (j) But we perceived that, when he was with us, his affection was real and quick. (P123.17)
- (k) I had not yet discovered that women were not to be Edward's ruin. (P167.1)
- (l) It was at such meetings that I first discovered how unreasonable and bitter people can be, when they are frightened. (P247.13)

We can see that notice is substitutable in (37a), (37c), (37d), (37f), (37i), (37j), (37l). The non-substitutability of notice in the other contexts of (37) is accounted for by the feature /Direct information/ and /Effort/. The same holds true for primijetiti and opaziti, except that opaziti is further restricted since it involves a specific sense (see p. 147 ).

The relationships of Group I and Group V can be summarised thus:

TABLE 12

		Ability				Storing	Reason- ing
		Observation					
		Inten'n. Neg. St.	Import- ance	Direct info.	Effort		
I	biti svjestan	+	-	+	+	-	-
	(pre)poznati	+	0	0	+	0	-
	osjetiti	+	0	0	+	-	-
	primijetiti	+	0	0	+	-	-
	opaziti	+	0	0	+	-	-
	realize	+	-	+	+	-	-
	recognize	+	0	0	+	0	-
	be conscious	+	-	+	+	-	-
	be aware	+	-	+	+	-	-
	feel	+	0	0	+	-	-
notice	+	0	0	+	-	-	
V	vidjeti	+	+	0	0	0	+
	zapaziti	+	+	+	+	0	+
	uočiti	+	+	+	+	0	+
	otkriti	+	+	+	0	0	+
	see	+	+	0	0	0	+
	make out	+	+	+	+	+	+
	perceive	+	+	+	+	0	+
	discover	+	+	+	0	0	+
find out	+	+	+	0	0	+	

The substitutability features are here /Intention/, /Direct information/ and /Effort/. From the table, and from the above examples, it can be seen that the substitution between Group I and Group V is possible if the contexts can be assigned the features /-Intention/, /+Direct information/ and /-Effort/.

The justification for dividing these verbs into two groups lies precisely in the fact that, since Group V primarily presuppose /Intention/ and /Effort/, or at least are not negatively specified for these features, they, as a consequence, necessarily involve some other process beyond that reflected in the feature /Observation/; and that process may be either that of storing information or that of reasoning upon it, or both.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### 7.1 'Skill' verbs

A particular kind of 'ability' verbs are 'skill' verbs, i. e. those that are considered to be substitutable in contexts expressing skill. We shall discuss the following:

SC	E
znati	know
umjeti	learn (in the sense of 'memorizing')
naučiti	can
moći	be able
biti u stanju	be capable
biti sposoban	

Of these, SC (na)učiti and E learn are considered to be non-factives, and the rest negative-committals (see p. 32 ).

They all occur in V + V sentence constructions (be capable also occurs in V + of + Object constructions, see (8c, d, e) ). Four of them, znati, (na)učiti, know and learn, take kako/how in contexts which imply a particular way of doing thing i. e., the construction is: V + kako/how + V. While this construction is in such contexts obligatory with E know (see also p. 79 ), it seems to be optional with the other three.

The 'skill' contexts are numerous in the material, in particular those containing moći and can. From these, we shall have to select a number of contexts which appear to be most relevant, and exclude those that provide less significant information.

7.1.1 We shall, first of all, examine how znati, umjeti and know are related to each other:

- 1.(a) Razdor medju njima u najkritičnijem trenutku,

- mislio je Pavle, dovešće odred do propasti, a nije znao kako da ga izbegne. (DS18.30)
- This split between them at a most crucial moment, in Paul's opinion, would bring the company to the verge of disaster, and he did not know how to avoid it. (tr. p.22)
- (b) Ni Maksim ni druga dva ilegalca koji su pošli sa Vukom nisu ništa znali da mu kažu o ženi i detetu. (DS234.27)
- Neither Maxim nor the other two conspirators who had set off with Vuk could tell him anything about his wife and child. (tr. p.226)
- (c) Nije mogao da ih gleda, a nije znao kako da im pomogne. (DS107.14)
- He could not bear to look at them, but he did not know how he could help them. (tr. p.107)
- (d) 'Radi se o internoj stvari a on zna samo da zamota ranu.' (DS189.19)
- 'It's something internal, and all he can do is to bandage wounds. (tr. p.184)
- (e) 'Ja ću da preplivam.'
- 'A šta ću ja što ne znam? (DS209.18)
- 'I'll swim.'
  - 'And what about me - I can't. (my tr.)
- (f) (...) sa mladićima od kojih većina pre odlaska u odred nije znala ni puškom da rukuje. (DS265.23)
- (...) with youths who until their arrival in the company had not known how to handle a gun. (tr. p.255)
- (g) 'Ti samo znaš da kukaš.' (DS321.11)
- 'Hush, all you can do is to moan.' (tr. p.307)

- 2.(a) Pevali su i oni koji umeju i oni koji ne umeju.  
(DS90.15)  
- They were all singing, those who could sing well, and those who could not. (tr. p. 90)
- (b) 'Kako to ne umeš da se raduješ.' (DS88.2)  
- 'Don't you know how to feel glad?' (tr. p. 88)
- (c) Umela je srdačno da vodi obične razgovore.  
(DS300.37)  
- She could really enjoy quite ordinary conversation. (tr. p. 287)
- (d) 'Oni (konji) sve razumeju kao ljudi samo što ne umeju da govore.' (DS392.1)  
- They (horses) can understand everything, just like human beings, only they can't talk.  
(tr. p. 373)
- (e) Kad bi izbila neka neprilika, ona bi se umešala i pokušavala da je otkloni što je bolje znala i umela. (PW208.7)  
- When there was trouble she would interfere and try to minimize it as best she could.  
(my tr.)
- 3.(a) It is only the love of knowing how to do things which Nature plants in every child. (P25.6)
- (b) 'Don't you know how to mind your business yet?'  
(P26.35)
- (c) And she would know how to keep her place.  
(P36.8)
- (d) 'I didn't know how to be happy.' (P52.15)
- (e) My father did not seem to know how to answer, and remained silent. (P95.11)
- (f) 'They are all looking for something, some happiness; but they don't know how to get it.' (P142.16)

- (g) 'And I thought I knew how to love.' (P178.21)
- (h) She would speak brusquely to the boy like a shy young woman, who does not know how to manage a love affair. (P218.29)
- (i) We knew how to hurt each other. (P296.32)

Examination of the results shows that, in (1), (2) and (3), znati is always substitutable for the other two verbs, umjeti is always substitutable for know how, but not always for znati, and know how is not always substitutable for umjeti and znati.

It seems that the substitutability of umjeti for znati here is not readily acceptable in some cases for at least two reasons. One seems to be that, if a context indicates some kind of intention (as in (1a) and (1c) ) to find the way of doing things, the native speaker finds it inappropriate to substitute umjeti, since it is /-Intention/. The other reason appears to be that, unless a context presupposes skill in the narrowest sense, i. e. involving a particular way of doing things, umjeti is not substitutable (as in (1b) ). In other words, unless a context implies 'how to do things', umjeti is inapplicable. This leads to the conclusion that the feature /Skill/ is inherent in umjeti. From the same example it can be seen that it is inherent in know how as well. It is, in fact, striking that umjeti expresses covertly precisely what know how expresses overtly, by the preposition how (hence the non-substitutability of this verb in (1g) ).

7.1.2 (Na) učiti and learn are positively specified for the feature /Learnt/ and they also presuppose /Memory :

Nonrepetitive/ (unlike, for example, recognize which presupposes /Memory-Repetitive/, see p. 145 ). This feature prevents their substitution in (1b), (1e), (2a), (2b), (2d), (3c), (3d), (3e), (3h). Here are some examples with learn to prove the point:

- 4.(a) Only my brother Bill of our family ever



learnt to swim. (P44.39)

- (b) I learnt to avoid him, for when he caught my eye, he would at once come towards me and say something incomprehensible. (P122.33)
- (c) Robert, who had just learnt to walk, loved to escape from his mother. (P218.4)
- (d) Probably, in her modern school, just as she never learnt how to enter a room (...) she was never taught how to begin, maintain and conclude a real conversation. (P238.27)
- (e) For though he can't speak, he has learnt to pray. (P288.20)
- (f) I had learnt to appreciate the quality of a woman who could devote herself to chairs, tables, carpets. (P320.8)
- (g) She is a slow but careful needle woman, having learnt to sew, I imagine, only in the last year. (P331.18)
- (h) (...) whereas it is perfectly obvious that he has only just learnt to whistle and doesn't know any tune. (P341.28)

7.1.3 Moči and can are distinguished from the rest of the group, quite strikingly by the feature /Potential/. The difference between potentiality and actuality is emphasized particularly in contexts of (3), in which moči and can are not substitutable. The exceptions are (3b) and (3h) where neutralization is possible for can. The difference can be described as that of involving potential ability, regardless of whether it is going to be put into practice or not. It can also be described as 'inherent' in the sense of being present in an individual permanently. Notice that in (4), where the feature /Learnt/ is made explicit by a time adverbial (4a - d), (4g), (4h) ), moči and can are not

substitutable. In such contexts the difference between potentiality and actuality is clearly observable.

'Inherent' and 'potential' can, therefore, be used interchangeably here, and we shall label the feature /Potential-inherent/. The feature is particularly obvious in (2d) above. The difference between /Learnt/ and /Potential-inherent/ is explicit also in (1f), hence the non-substitutability of moći and can. But while can seems to allow neutralization in a context like (1e), moći does not. This is also reflected in (1g) and (2a).

At this point we can summarize in a table the relationships of the verbs discussed so far:

TABLE 13

ABILITY					
	Skill	Learnt		Pot'l. Inh't.	Inten- tion
			Memory		
znati	0	0	0	0	0
umjeti	+	0	0	0	-
(na)učiti	0	+	+	-	0
moći	0	-	-	0	-
know how	+	+	0	-	0
learn	0	+	+	-	0
can	0	0	0	0	-
		SF	SF	SF	SF

Let us, however, look at some examples with moći and can:

5. (a) Izgladneo, premorio se i počeo da bunca.

Više ni o čemu ne može pametno da misli.

(DS10.25)

- He was hungry, worn out, and his mind

- had began to wander; he could no longer think straight about anything. (tr. p. 14)
- (b) 'U ratu parče čiste krpe i rakija mogu vojniku život da spasu.' (DS30.20)
- 'In a war a piece of clean rag and a drop of rakija may save a soldier's life.' (tr. p. 33)
- (c) 'Da njega nema ne bi' migla da živim.' (DS33.22)
- 'If it wasn't for him I couldn't go on living.' (tr. p. 36)
- (d) 'Dok mogu, teraću bicikle, a kad ostarim, kupicu čezu.' (DS43.2)
- 'While I can, I'll ride a bike, and when I get old I'll buy a cab.' (tr. p. 45)
- (e) Kad se malo oslobodio, on je (...) tvrdio (...) da zna partizanske pesme, pa ako žele mogu i da čuju. (DS71.5)
- When he was a little more at ease (...) he affirmed (...) that he knew some Partisan songs; if they liked they could hear them. (tr. p. 72)
- (f) Bio je kurir koji je mogao da prodje Nemcu kroz pocepan džep i da izvrši zadatak, (DS98.11)
- He was the sort of courier who could slip through the German's fingers and get his job done. (tr. p. 98)
- (g) Kad je pao mrak, te se moglo slobodno preći iz dvorišta u dvorište, Aca pogrbljen udje u sobu kod Pavla i Vuka. (DS189.11)
- When darkness fell, they could move freely from one courtyard to another, Aca, still doubled up went to the room where Paul and Vuk were talking. (tr. p. 184)

- (h) Pomisao da bi to ona mogla biti užasavala  
ga je. (DS245.35)  
- The thought that it might be her filled him  
with horror. (tr. p.237)
- (i) 'Nisam mogla da spavam.' (DS301.11)  
- I couldn't sleep. (tr. p.288)
- (j) 'Znaš da imam slabo srce i da ne mogu da  
izdržim hod.' (DS369.18)  
- 'You know I've got a weak heart and can't  
stand long marches.' (tr. p.352)
- 6.(a) (...) and Ann, who can spend a whole evening  
with her nose in a book (...) (P13.11)
- (b) It was a love such as can only exist between  
brother and sister. (P21.38)
- (c) I never hated anyone as I could hate Lucy. (P27.23)
- (d) My father would boast that Lucy could climb  
and ride and shoot better than any of us.  
(P41.33)
- (e) Neither she nor I could swim. (P44.38)
- (f) Lucy could not read so well as myself.  
(P47.3)
- (g) 'You can come with me and see the fun.'  
(P62.7)
- (h) At college I sought to be of that group of rich  
young men who were scholars and dandies at  
the same time, who could talk both philosophy  
and horses. (P71.30)
- (i) 'Can he be serious ...' (P102.44)
- (j) 'He knows he can always find someone to love  
him. (P145.26)
- (k) He could not speak, but he could think and feel,  
and write very legibly. (P158.7)( about a

- person who had had a stroke)
- (l) 'An old miser who can only think and talk about money!' (P181.43)
  - (m) His mother and father have been under the illusion that I could not handle children and did not like them. (P212.39)
  - (n) 'She can't have gone with Robert.' (P213.32)
  - (o) It was probably raining. I could not ride a bicycle and was obliged to use the trap and the yard pony. (P249.28)
  - (p) 'Can I see you at tea?' (P286.27)
  - (q) Babies, as soon as they can walk, begin to explore the world. (P301.37)
  - (r) 'But they say she can cook ...' (P316.24)

First of all, it is easily observed that moći and can differ from the verbs discussed above in that they can express permission, as in (5e), (6g), (6p).

They also differ from the above verbs in that they can occur in contexts expressing one aspect of modality, namely possibility, as in (5h), (6b), (6i), (6n) - in SC expressed by nije moguće ('it is not possible that'). If we compare these contexts with (5b) we shall notice that they differ in the possibility they express. While (5b) expresses merely potential possibility, not attached to any particular situation or group of people, (5h), (6b), (6i) and (6n) express a possibility of a particular occasion, attached to a particular individual or a particular group of people and commented upon by the speaker. We can therefore distinguish between /Potential possibility/ of (5b) and /Speaker's comment/ (i. e. 'objective modality', see p.85 ) in the case of (5h), (6b), (6i) and (6n). Of the verbs discussed above, only znati can be substituted in (5b). The feature /Potential-inherent/ can again be discerned

in (5a), (5f), (6a) and (6c), where (na)učiti, know how and learn are not substitutable. In (6e) there is no explicit or overt marking of the feature /Learnt/ (such as talk philosophy in (6h)), so that the substitution of moći (unlike can) would result in ambiguity between physical impediment (exemplified in (6k)), and lack of skill. (See also example (1e)).\* It follows from this that moći suggests more strongly than can the feature /+Physical/ although they can both occur in such contexts. (6l), as well as (1g) reveal one more feature relevant to the group of 'skill' verbs, and that is the feature /Habitual/. The results show that of all the verbs, only moći, know how and learn are not substitutable here. (6a) is ambiguous between lack of skill and situational impossibility, so that different substitutions are possible. In the former interpretation, znati, umjeti, naučiti, know how, learn are also substitutable.

The relationships of the verbs can, so far, be represented as follows:

-----  
 \* The ambiguity is avoided, for example, if the verb preceded by can need not presuppose /+Physical/, as in 'talk philosophy' (6h), and 'handle' (6m).

TABLE 14

## ABILITY

	Skill							Phys'l.	Poss.		Perm'n.
	Learnt				Pot'l. Inh't.	Int'n.	Habit'l.		Spkr's. Comm't	Pot'l.	
	Memory										
			overt								
znati	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	-
umjeti	+	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	-	-	-
(na)učiti	0	+	+	0	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
moći	0	-	0	-	0	-	-	0	0	0	0
know how	+	+	+	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
learn	0	+	+	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
can	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0
		SF	SF	SF	SF		SF	SF	SF	SF	SF

7.1.4 We shall now look at how biti u stanju and be able relate to the rest of the verbs.

If we substitute them in the above contexts of (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6), we will be able to notice that they are substitutable in all contexts which allow for the feature /Potential-inherent/.

Such contexts are:

(1a), (1b), (1d), (1g), (2b), (2c), (2d), (2e), (3a), (3b), (3c), (3e), (3h), (4e), (4f), (5a), (5c), (5d), (5f), (5j), (6a), (6c), (6d), (6h), (6k), (6l), one interpretation of (6o); (6q) and (6r).

While be able allows for neutralization between /+Physical/ and /+Skill/, bitu u stanju, like moći, does not. See examples (1e), (2a), (6e), (6f). On the other hand, while biti u stanju allows for /Potential possibility/, be able does not, see example (5b).

They can also both occur in contexts marked /+Habitual/, as in (1g) and (6l).

Since they are restricted to the type of context which we have named 'skill' context, they can also be considered as positively specified for /Skill/.

The following are some of the examples of biti u stanju and be able found in the material:

- 7.(a) 'Oni nisu u stanju da dogadjaje gledaju šire.' (DS26.12)  
- 'They aren't able to take a broader view of things.' (tr. p. 28)
- (b) (...) perhaps because my mother did not feel able to walk the two miles for a second time. (P43.9)
- (c) (...) my firm had been able to find the money. (P206.2)
- (d) But I was rarely able to be alone with him. (P234.12)
- (e) And again I was able to congratulate myself on my foresight in keeping always a store of change. (P300.41)
- (f) She was propped up in bed with pillows and barely able to turn her head. (P336.18)

Biti u stanju is not substitutable in (7d), which suggests that it cannot, unlike be able, imply solely an influence from outside an individual, without any reference to the individual's inner capacities. We shall name this feature /Outside influence/.

7.1.5 If we now substitute biti sposoban and be capable of above, we will notice that they are basically substitutable in three types of contexts. Granted that these two verbs are also typical 'skill' verbs, we observe that they occur in: (a) contexts that allow for the feature /Physical/, as in (5a), (5c), (5d), (5j), (6d), (6q); (b) contexts that allow for the feature /Potential-



inherent/, as in (1d), (2e), (5f), (6a), (6h), (6m); (c) contexts that allow for the feature /Habitual/, as in (1g) and (6l). Judging from the non-substitutability of be capable of in (2d) which presupposes an innate capacity, we can pose a difference between these two verbs in terms of this feature which we shall name /Innate/. On the other hand, while be capable of can occur in contexts that are /+Learnt/, as in (3b) and (3d), biti sposoban is not substitutable.

Before we summarize the relationships of the 'skill' verbs, we shall give a few examples of biti sposoban and be capable of, to support the above conclusions:

- 8.(a) U sadašnjem raspoloženju on nije bio sposoban da traži druga rešenja. (DS374.36)
  - In his present mood he was unable to think of another way out. (tr. p. 357)
- (b) Ako je kreativno sposoban da osjeti unutrašnju bitnost djela i literature, on će biti sposoban i da je izrazi. (ZIN168.42)
  - If he is creatively capable of perceiving the inner essence of a literary work and literature, he will also be capable of expressing it. (my tr.)
- (c) 'He is a fool, and she is capable of anything to amuse herself.' (P74.26)
- (d) (...) just as all women ought to be capable of devotion. (P157.39)
- (e) I did not know that a woman was capable of this careful approach to an historical problem. (P236.11)

The final picture of the relationships of 'skill' verbs can be summarized componentially as follows:

TABLE 15

## ABILITY

Skill	Learnt		Pot'l. Inh't.		Int'n.	Habit'l.	Out. Infl.	Physical	Poss.		Perm'n.			
	Memory	Overt	Int.	Int'n.					Habit'l.	Out. Infl.		Physical	Sp. Com.	Pot'l.
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
+	0	0	0	0</										

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### 8.1 Predictive statements

The verbs of knowledge and understanding can be further classified according to whether they can occur in a context expressing a prediction. Before we start discussing the predictive contexts found in the material, we shall briefly look at Boyd and Thorne (1969) and McIntosh (1966) in order to refer to some points for our analysis.

Boyd and Thorne make one very important claim and that is that, to quote, 'It must be emphasized that saying that 'He will live in Edinburgh' is potentially a prediction is not at all the same thing as saying that it is future tense (...) In fact we would claim that there are only two tenses in E, past and present (better past and non-past). Thus if I say 'My cousin is downstairs. He will be wondering what has happened to me', the difference between the two sentences is not the result of my having switched tenses (in fact it is clear that the time reference of both sentences is the same - they are both non-past) but of my having switched from making a statement in the first case to making a prediction in the second (...) It must be emphasized that the only function of the modal verb will is to indicate that the illocutionary potential of the sentence in which it occurs is that of being a prediction.' (1969:63-64)

This claim is important because it accounts for the fact that with the verbs of knowledge and understanding prediction can be expressed in V + Sentence constructions where the tense of the subordinate clause is the same as that of the main verb, and also in V + Object constructions where the object has clear reference to actions following the time of utterance. Here are some examples with znati and know:

- 1.(a) Galamilo se, dovikivalo se, tako da se nije znalo na čijoj je strani većina.  
(DS47.1)  
- There was so much noise and shouting that it was impossible to know what was the opinion of the majority. (tr. p.49)
- (b) Čovek stvarno ne zna šta sve ima u sebi.  
(DS93.30)  
- Nobody really knows what he's like inside. (tr. p.93)
- (c) Šta bi Pavle rekao? 'Znao sam ja da je ta starkelja pudljivko, pijandura, najgora izdajica na kugli zemaljskoj.' (DS106.2)  
- And what would Paul say? 'Yes, I knew that that old fool, a coward, a drunkard, was the worst traitor in the whole world.' (my tr.; the Heppell-Mihajlović translation is incorrect: 'Yes, I knew that old fool was a coward and a drunkard, and the worst traitor in the whole world.')
- (d) Niko sem Vuka ni ovam trenutku nije vidio ni znao tu novu, nepredvidjenu teškoću.  
(DS212.33)  
- At that moment no one except Vuk realized this new, unforeseen difficulty. (tr. p.205)
- (e) Pavle je znao da od uspeha te akcije mnogo zavise njihove dalje operacije. (DS251.30)  
- Paul knew that their future operations in that district were closely bound up with the success of this action. (tr. p.242)
- (f) Oni su gledali seljake i znali da nemaju gde da se vrate. (DS331.7)  
- The Partisans looked at the peasants, and

knew that they had nowhere to go back to.

(tr. p. 316)

- (g) But I knew very well the danger of such notions to an old man. (P105.21)
- (h) We knew that he forgot us as soon as we were out of his sight. (P123.15)
- (i) I know very well that the pipe is doing service somewhere about the farm. (P152.22)
- (j) They are the lovers, the pilgrims of the world, who carry their burdens from one disappointment to another, and know it is useless even to complain. (P176.4)
- (k) I knew at once that they had something on their minds. (P184.37)
- (l) 'Come, Edward, even the stupidest soldier knows the consequences of war in modern Europe.' (P221.32)
- (m) 'Ha, I knew you could see the coastguard station.' (P261.2)

All examples under (l) can be paraphrased by (Subject) + 'predict' + that ... and the subordinate clauses can be expressed by the future tense.

In his article 'Predictive statements', McIntosh (1966) discusses predictions 'effected grammatically', i. e. those expressed by be going to + inf (and be going to be + -ing) and will + inf (and will be + -ing). This particular aspect does not concern us here, since we shall be dealing solely with the semantic aspect of the feature /Predictive/, that is to say, we shall look at how this feature is represented by the main verb in V + Sentence and V + Object constructions.

What is a prediction? To quote McIntosh: 'By 'predictive' I do not necessarily mean something which is without a well-founded basis in reason or in observation; I merely wish to separate statements which simply convey judgements or assessments about what is going to happen from others which carry other implications as well, e.g. those which we might describe as 'decision' or 'promise'.' (1966:303)

McIntosh stresses that 'a full analysis of this problem would have to take account of differences between first, second and third person. In general, statements involving the second or third person (and especially the latter) can more readily be predictive than those involving the first.' (1966:305)

With those constructions in which the verbs of knowledge and understanding are employed to express predictions, i. e. V + Sentence and V + Object constructions, a new condition, not unrelated to the question of the first, second and third person, has to be accounted for. The condition is that normally there should exist referential non-identity between the subject of the main clause and that of the subordinate clause. Consider example (2). As it stands, it cannot be interpreted as a prediction. The referential non-identity will render, at least in some cases, such interpretation:

2.     'Znam šta hoću.' (DS26.4)  
      - 'I know what I want.' (tr. p. 28)

The following combinations are most likely to be interpreted as predictions:

MAIN CLAUSE Subject	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE Subject
I person	II/III person
III person	I/II person

The predictive implications are not normally attached to:

## MAIN CLAUSE Subject

I person

II person

## SUBORDINATE CLAUSE Subject

I person

I/III person

However, example (3a) below indicates that predictions can be expressed by the combination Main Clause Subject: II person - Subordinate Clause Subject: I/III person, if there is an overt marker of uncertainty present in the main clause, such as 'mora da ...' ('Must ...'), or, for example, probably. If there is no such marker, the sentence will be interpreted simply as a descriptive statement.

McIntosh also concludes that 'there are cases where a person's knowledge about something going on at present may be as deficient as it is about anything in the future.' (1966: 317) He exemplifies this by 'He'll be earning a lot of money over in the States', and he labels this kind of prediction as 'conjecture'. It is the same kind of prediction that Boyd and Thorne refer to above (1969: 63-64).

8.1.1 The following verbs of knowledge and understanding have been found to occur in predictive contexts:

SC		E	
znati	misliti	know	see
shvatiti	vjerovati	understand	make out
biti svjestan		realize	notice
biti jasno		recognize	perceive
vidjeti		be conscious	think
uvidjeti		be clear	believe
primijetiti		be aware	

To this list we shall add, and consider separately, SC osjetiti and E feel. The reason that they are not included in the above list is that, as non-factives (see p. 33 ), they cannot express

a prediction. Rather, they express something that can be named an expectation, expectations not presupposing commitment of the speaker about the truth or falsity of the complement.

In this study we shall concern ourselves only with those verbs that have been found to be most frequently used to introduce predictions, namely:

SC	E
znati	know
shvatiti	understand
biti svjestan	realize
biti jasno	be conscious
vidjeti	be clear
misliti	be aware
vjerovati	see
	perceive
	think
	believe

as well as osjetiti and feel as expressing expectations.

8.1.2 Consider the substitution of these verbs in the following examples with znati and know, as well as in those under (1):

3. (a) 'Ti mora da znaš šta će biti sa nama,  
Vidim nešto si naumio.' (DS31. 23)  
- 'But you must know what is going to  
happen to us. I can see that you have  
thought of something.' (tr. p. 34)
- (b) Niko nije bio raspoložen i spreman da  
suprotstavi drugi predlog, iako su svi  
znali da će umornu, izgadnelu i  
desetkovanu kolonu marš na Belu Stenu  
dovesti u novo i teško iskušenje. (DS61. 32)  
- No one was in the mood to put forward  
an alternative suggestion, although they



all knew well that for the weary starving and  
depleted column the march to the White  
Rock would be a fresh and heavy trial.

(tr. p. 63)

- (c) Zna on tačno šta će biti posle rata. (DS95.3)  
- He knew just what things would be like after  
the war. (tr. p. 94)
- (d) 'Ne sekiraj se, ne sekiraj se! Na vreme si  
stigao djavolu na svadbu. Da si samo znao,  
izgubio bi ti vezu još za neki dan.' (DS98.16)  
- 'Not to worry! You've arrived in time for  
the devil's wedding! If you'd known it,  
you'd have come even later.' (my tr.)
- (e) Ko je znao da će ovako da ispadne. (DS116.5)  
- Who could have told that things would turn  
out like this. (tr. p. 115)
- (f) 'Ne znam kako će ovo da ispadne.' (DS280.36)  
- 'I don't know how things are going to turn out.'  
(tr. p. 269)
- (g) 'Bio sam kod opštine ... Nisam znao da ćete  
kod mene.' (DS18637)  
- 'I went to the town hall ... I didn't know you  
would be coming to me.' (tr. p. 181)
- (h) 'Žao mi je što neću videti kako će izgledati ta  
naša sloboda, Kad bi' to tačno znao, lakše bi  
mi bilo. (DS281.33)  
- 'I'm sorry that I shan't see what this freedom  
of ours is going to be like. If I knew just  
how things were going to be, I shouldn't mind  
so much.' (tr. p. 270)
- (i) On se pribojavao dužeg zadržavanja u ovom  
kraju jer je znao da će Nemci, posle svega

što su partizani učinili na ovom terenu,  
sve snage baciti na njih. (DS284.25)

- He was afraid of a longish stay in this region, as he knew that, after all the Partisans had done there, the Germans would throw all their strength at them.  
(tr. p. 273)

(j) 'Da je ona, isposniče, znala, da ćeš ti posle rata postati kapetan, pristala bi sigurno.' (DS380.1)

- 'If she'd known, old chap, that you'd be a captain after the war, she'd have accepted you for sure.' (tr. p. 361)

(k) Ana je znala da izmadiju njih nikada neće biti prave sreće. Da li je to shvatila u toku svoje bolesti, ili ranije, bilo je nejasno. (OFI32.2.1)

- Ann knew that there would never be real happiness between them. Whether she realized it during her illness, or before that, it was uncertain. (my tr.)

(l) I know that I shall not be whipped while I am ill, so I do not care. (P47.40)

(m) I knew that I should have to fight this child's battles. (P116.4)

(n) Now the truth is I had not opened any letters from certain members of the family, because I knew that they would be full of complaints against Ann. (P131.28)

(o) But I know that the old blackguard will swear he never had a pipe. (P152.22)

(p) 'How do you know what bad characters may

come about the place. ' (P213.27)

- (q) Yet I knew even then that this act must change all my relations with Julie. (P229.27)
- (r) 'I don't know what's going to happen to him.' (P234.41)
- (s) I knew that they would talk about their sons. (P257.19)
- (t) 'I knew you would have<sup>to</sup> come. Because of Papa.' (P297.8)
- (u) (...) for I knew that if the family pursued me, they would seek me in one of my usual places in Kensington. (P301.11)
- (v) But I could not know how that break would affect her. (P304.19)
- (w) We could not know that events within a few years would prove the southern ape to be the human ancestor. (AG28.12)

In the contexts under (1) and (3) we can clearly distinguish between several different kinds of prediction. First of all, there are predictions that definitely presuppose previous repeated experience. Such contexts are: (1g), (1h), (1i), (1j), (3i), (3l), (3n), (3o), (3s), (3t) and (3u). Secondly, there are predictions that do not presuppose (as far as can be detected) any previous stimulating event. Such predictions are normally initiated at the time of utterance. The following contexts seem to be of that kind: (1b), (1e), (1l), (3a), (3b), (3c), (3h), (3k), (3r), (3v). Thirdly, there are those that distinctly presuppose an event immediately preceding the time of utterance: (1f), (1k), (3m), (3q). And finally, there are those which are uttered after the fulfilment (or non-fulfilment) of the prediction, as in (1c), (1m), (3d), (3e), (3g), (3j) and (3w).

The substitution of the selected group of verbs in these contexts has revealed a few interesting points. Granted that these verbs are also restricted in terms of other features discussed above\*, it has been found that, according to the results, the verbs vidjeti and see occur only with predictions based on the immediately preceding event or in contexts that allow for that kind of interpretation. In fact, this seems to be the basic difference between znati/know and vidjeti/see with respect to predictive statements. The following sentences with see show this difference clearly:

4. (a) I saw that he would object to the name  
Edward. (P116.8)
- (b) But seeing that I could get no support from  
my mother, I went back to Lucy. (P161.11)
- (c) 'And what were your conditions?'  
'I didn't make any. I saw it wouldn't do.'  
(P324.41)

The substitution of znati/know in (4), with the same meaning, is impossible without a time adverbial such as tada/then, to indicate the restriction in time. Otherwise, the sentences under (4) would be interpreted either as presupposing previous repeated experience, or as predictions not connected with any preceding event.

It seems that E be clear occurs with two kinds of predictions, those based on experience and those based on an event immediately preceding them. SC biti jasno, although similar

\* for example biti jasno, shvatiti, be clear and understand presuppose the feature /+ Analysis/; understand, especially in V +that + Sentence constructions, is ambiguous towards the feature /-Direct information/; be conscious presupposes the feature /Observation - Sense non-specific/

in meaning elsewhere, is not restricted in the same way.

E perceive is, like vidjeti and see, restricted to predictions based on an immediately preceding event. This seems apparent from the following examples:

- 5.(a) (...) but I perceived that Robert meant to  
worry me about the trees. (P18.26)
- (b) For I perceived (...) that if I began to  
worry about a silly flirtation between the  
two young people (...) I should get no  
peace at Tolbrook. (P23.28)
- (c) If I gave way, I perceived that the boy's  
character, already headstrong, would be  
entirely wrecked. (P318.18)

The substitutability of znati/know in (5b-c) indicates that another way of neutralization between vidjeti/see/perceive and znati/know is by conditional sentences.

The rest of the verbs do not seem to be confined to one or the other of the three first types of prediction discussed above. The fourth type is most commonly introduced by znati and know, and in some cases, for which the pattern has not yet been found, also by biti svjestan, be conscious, be aware and realize.

8.1.3 SC misliti and vjerovati, and E think and believe, as negative committals, i. e. as verbs that in negative statements presuppose the falsity of the complement, can only in such statements introduce a prediction. This is why, if negated, they can be substituted in (3k) and (3l) and also in (4b) with a change in construction and (4c). Their substitutability does not seem (otherwise) to be confined to any of the types of predictions recognized above.

8.1.4 SC osjetiti and E feel, although non-factives, and

therefore not presupposing any kind of commitment of the speaker, can, however, be substituted in some of the above contexts, in particular those that allow for the necessary vagueness attached to the meaning of a non-factive verb.

Except for their obvious non-occurrence in the sentences above which are expressed after the fulfilment of a prediction, they are not restricted to any of the other three recognized types.

Since the term 'prediction' expresses a full commitment of the speaker to the truth or falsity of the complement, and osjetiti and feel do not fulfil this requirement, being non-factive, it seems appropriate to attach to these verbs the term 'expectation'. This term has been chosen for want of a better one to stand for the non-commitment that the two verbs carry as part of their meaning.

Before we conclude this chapter, consider the following examples with osjetiti and feel in which some kind of 'expectation' is being expressed:

- 6.(a) Svi partizani, sa Ućom i Pavlom, osećali su da je zaseda sudbonosna. (DS80.24)  
- All the Partisans, including Prof and Paul,  
felt that the ambush would decide their fate. (tr. p. 81)
- (b) Osećajući blisku opasnost, on se baci u trnje (...) (DS197.3)  
- Feeling that he was in imminent danger,  
he flung himself down into the thorns (...)  
(tr. p. 191)
- (c) I fled from Brown because I felt that if I did not run, he would get me. (P21.14)
- (d) I felt that he was to be an honour to the

Wilchers (...) (P232.23)

- (e) I knew that this was a joke and yet I felt  
that I was going to be murdered. (P333.20)

Here the uncertainty attached to osjetiti/feel prohibits the substitution of znati/know. The similarity with misliti/vjerovati and think/believe (in affirmative statements) is, however, noticeable, in V + Sentence constructions like (6c), (6d) and (6e).

The relationships of the verbs discussed can, therefore, be summarized in a table as follows:

TABLE 16

PREDICTIONS					Expectations
Stated before the fulfilment			Stated after the Fulfilment		
Based on Repeated Experience	Not based on any Event	Based on Event '. immediately preceding			
znati	0	0	0	0	-
vidjeti	-	-	0	-	-
biti jasno	0	0	0	-	-
shvatiti	0	0	0	-	-
biti svjestan	0	0	0	(0)	-
misliti (neg.)	0	0	0	0	0 (aff)
vjerovati (neg.)	0	0	0	0	0 (aff)
(osjetiti)	0	0	0	-	0
know	0	0	0	0	-
see	-	-	0	-	-
be clear	0	-	0	-	-
realize	0	0	0	(0)	-
understand	0	0	0	-	-
be conscious	0	0	0	(0)	-
be aware	0	0	0	(0)	-
perceive	-	-	0	-	-
think (neg.)	0	0	0	0	0 (aff)
believe (neg.)	0	0	0	0	0 (aff)
(feel)	0	0	0	-	0
	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF



## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

In this work an attempt has been made to establish semantic correspondences and differences between the verbs of knowledge and understanding in Serbo-Croat and English by way of a componential analysis.

On the basis of the material at hand, two basic types of distinctive features have been encountered: non-contextual (or inherent) features, and contextual (or substitutability) features. The contextual features signify possible substitutions, while the non-contextual ones act as restrictions of a more general nature, in the sense that, provided two verbs are substitutable in a particular context, their substitutability will further depend on whether they have the same specifications for a non-contextual feature. For example, if the context in question is /+Intention/ and if one of the verbs is negatively specified for it, the substitution of the two verbs for each other with the same meaning is inappropriate.

It has become evident that, in the majority of cases, the encountered substitutability features are, in fact, inherent features for some of the verbs substitutable in contexts that reflect these features. (Or, conversely, some inherent features are substitutability features for a certain group of verbs.)

On the basis of the material, it was possible to establish thirty-one contextual and twelve non-contextual features. The number of contextual features indicates the number of different contexts within which the verbs of knowledge and understanding differ in possibility of substitution.

All the features in the analysis, apart from /Speaker's comment/

are regarded as subfeatures of subjective modality. Also, they are all considered to be based on presuppositions.

In order to provide a fuller picture of the relationships of these verbs, restrictions in terms of aspectual differences, time adverbials and sentence construction have also been considered.

The following is a description of the verbs of knowledge and understanding in terms of the established features.

## INDEX OF CODES REPRESENTING FEATURES IN THE SUMMARY

1	=	Aspect			
1A	=	Process			
1A1	=	Repetitive Process			
1A2	=	Continuous Process			
1B	=	State			
1C	=	Event			
2	=	Adverbials (numbering the same as in Appendix of Chapter III, except that here '2' precedes).			
2A	:	2A1	2B	:	2B1
			2C	:	2C1
		2A2			2B2
					2C2
		2A3			2C2a
					2C2b
		2A4			2B3
					2C3
		2A5			2B4
					2C4
		2A6			2B5
					2C5
		2A7			
		2A8			
		2A9			
2D	:	2D1	2E	:	2F
					2F1
		2D2			2F2
		2D3			2F3
		2D4			2F4
					2F5

- 3 = Imperative
- 
- 4 = Type of Sentence
- |                            |   |             |
|----------------------------|---|-------------|
| 4A = Implied question      | ) | a = that    |
| 4B = Direct question       | ) | b = what    |
| 4C = Negative statement    | ) | c = why     |
| 4D = Affirmative statement | ) | d = how     |
|                            |   | e = when    |
|                            |   | f = where   |
|                            |   | g = whether |
- 
- 5 = V + Object
- 5A = Concrete
- 5B = Abstract
- 5C = V + V
- 
- 6 = /Factivity/
- 6A = Factives
- 6B = Affirmative committals
- 6C = Negative committals
- 6D = Non-factives
- 
- 7 = /Speaker's knowledge/
- 7A = /Parenthetic/
- 7A1 = initial position: /Informative/
- 7A2 = elsewhere: /Informative/

7A3 = elsewhere: /Explanatory/

7A4 = elsewhere: /Reminding/

8 = /Importance/

9 = /Volition/

9A = Transitive: 9A1 = wish

9A2 = want

9A3 = would like

9B = Intransitive: 9B1 = wish

9B2 = want

9B3 = would like

10 = /Intention/

10A = Negative statement, first person: speaker's intention

10B = Direct question: subject's intention

10C = Future

10C1 = First person: speaker's intention

10C2 = Second person: speaker's intention

10C3 = Second person: subject's intention

10C4 = Third person: speaker's intention

10C5 = Third person: subject's intention

11 = /Achievement/

12 = /Ability/  
 12A = /Ability/ - /Observation/  
 12A1 = /Specific sense/  
 12A2 = /Contemporaneous/  
 12A3 = /Memory/ - /Repetitive/  
 12B = /Ability/ - /Storing/  
 12C = /Ability/ - /Reasoning/  
 12C1 = /Persuasion/  
 12C2 = /Thinking/  
 12C3 = /Acknowledgement/  
 12C4 = /Analysis/, /Complexity/  
 12C5 = /Sympathy/  
 12C6 = /Implications/  
 12C7 = /Creative/  
 12D = /Ability/ - (/Observation/ /Storing/)  
 12D1 = /Details/ - /Memory/  
 12D2 = /Cumulative/  
 12D3 = /Di-Transitive/  
 12D4 = /Higher education/  
 12D5 = /Direct information/  
 12E = /Ability/ - (/Observation/ /Storing/ /Reasoning/)  
 12E1 = /Effort/  
 12F = /Skill/  
 12F1 = /Learnt/  
 12F2 = /Memory/ - /Cumulative/

12F3 = /Overt/  
12F4 = /Potential - inherent/  
12F5 = /Innate/  
12F6 = /Habitual/  
12F7 = /Outside influence/  
12F8 = /Potential possibility/  
12F9 = /Physical/  
12F10 = /Permission/  
12F11 = /Speaker's comment/

13 = /Prediction/  
13A = /Before the fulfilment/  
13A1 = /Experience/  
13A2 = /-Preceding event/  
13A3 = /+Preceding event/  
13B = /After the fulfilment/  
13C = /Expectation/

### Explanation of signs

- + = inherent feature, except under 2, 4, 7A, 9 and 10.  
(In 2, 4 and 9 it indicates occurrences, in 7A and 10 it reflects positive specifications within certain contexts and not generally.)
- = negative specification or non-occurrence
- / = inherent negative specification

No sign in front of number = zero specification.

Underlining = contextual (substitutability) feature (the numbers which are not underlined represent non-contextual features).

brackets = infrequent occurrence.

There are verbs for which two clear-cut senses have been encountered. Such are: SC znati and E know, learn and recognize. Specifications of both senses for each verb will be given separately in the following order:

znati <sub>1</sub>	=	'storing information' contexts
znati <sub>2</sub>	=	'skill' contexts
know	=	'storing information' contexts
know how	=	'skill' contexts
learn <sub>1</sub>	=	'obtain information' contexts
learn <sub>2</sub>	=	'memorize'
recognize <sub>1</sub>	=	'acknowledge'
recognize <sub>2</sub>	=	'known before'

Apart from recognize, all these verbs vary in factivity in the two different senses. It might be argued that, on the basis of difference in factivity, some other verbs like SC shvatiti, razumjeti, and E understand could be said to have two different senses since they are non-factive in V + that + Sentence construction where they are negatively specified for the feature / Direct information/. However, there seems to be no further ground for establishing



this distinction since the underlying meaning represented by the feature /+Analysis/ is retained even in such contexts. For these verbs two readings will be given for the features /Factivity/ and /Direct information/.

biti jasno = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9, +10A,  
10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4,  
-10C5, +11, 12C2, +12C4, - 12C5,  
12C6, -12C7, 12D5, 13A1, 13A2, 13A3,  
-13B, -13C;

biti sposoban = 1A, 1B, 1C, -2A3, -2A5, -2A9, -4, 5C,  
+6C, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11, +12F, -12F1,  
-12F2, -12F3, +12F4, 12F5, 12F6,  
-12F7, -12F8, 12F9;

biti svjestan = 1, 2, 3, -4Bg, -4Cg, 5A, 5B, +6A, ~~7~~,  
+8, 9, ~~+10~~, ~~+11~~, 12A1, 12A2, -12A3,  
12C1, 12C2, 12C3, (12C4), ~~+12F1~~, 12D5,  
13A1, 13A2, 13A3, (13B), -13C;

biti u stanju = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, -4, 5C, +6C, 7, 8, 9,  
10, +11, +12F, -12F1, -12F2, 12F3,  
+12F4, 12F5, 12F6, -12F7, 12F8, 12F9;

čuti = 1A1, 1C, 2, 3, 4, 5B, +6D, 7, 8, 9, 10A,  
10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4, -10C5,  
+11, +12A1, ~~+12D5~~;

doznati = 1A1, 1C (imperfective 1A1), 2, 3, 4, 5B,

+6B, 7, +8, 9, +10, +11, +12A1, 12D2,  
12D4, ~~12D5~~;

misliti = 1A2 (perfective 1A2, 1C), -2A8, -2C1,  
 3, +4a, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, +12D5, 13;

moci = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, -4, 5C, +6C, 7, 8, ~~9~~,  
~~10~~, +11, 12F, -12F1, -12F2, 12F3,  
12F4, 12F5, -12F6, 12F7, 12F8, 12F9,  
12F10, 12F11;

opaziti = 1A1, 1C (imperfective 1A1, 1A2), 2, -4A,  
 -4f, 5B, +6B, 7, 8, +9B2, +9B3, 10A,  
 10B, +11, +12A1, 12A2, - 12A3, ~~12E1~~,  
 +12D5;

osjetiti = 1A1, 1A2, 1C (imperfective 1B), 2, -4Ab,  
 -4C, -4D, -4E, -4Df, -4g(A-C), 5B, +6D,  
 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12A1, 12A2, - 12A3,  
~~12E1~~, +12D5;

otkriti = 1A1, 1A2, 1C (imperfective 1A1, 1A2), 2,  
 3, -4Aa, 5A, 5B, +6B, 7, +8, 9, +10A,  
 +10B, +10C1, -10C2, +10C3, 10C4, 10C5,  
 +11, 12C2, 12D2, 12D4, 12E1, 12D5;

pojmiti = 1A1, 1A2, 1C (imperfective 1A2, 1B),  
 -2A8, -2B4, -4g, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, -9B3,  
 +10A, 10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4,  
 10C5, +11, 12C2, +12C4, -12C5, 12C6,

-12C7, 12D5;

poznavati = 1B, 2A1, 2B3, 2B5, 2C2a, 2C2b, 2C3b,  
2D1, 2D3, 2E, 2F3, 2F5, -4, 5A, 5B,  
+6A, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11, 12A3, 12D2, -12D3,  
12D4, +12D5;

(pre)poznati = 1A1, 1C (imperfective 1A1), 2A1, 2A2, 2A3,  
2A4, 2A5, 2A6, 2A7, 2C4, 2D1, 2F1, 3, -4,  
5A, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11, +12A1,  
-12A2, 12A3, 12E1, +12D5;

primijetiti = 1A1, 1C (imperfective 1A), 2, 3, -4A, 5B,  
+6B, 7, 8, -9B1, 10A, +10B, +10C1, -10C2,  
+10C3, -10C4, 10C5, +11, +12A1, 12A2,  
-12A3, +12E1, +12D5;

razumjeti = 1A2, 1B, 1C (imperfective 1A2, 1B), -2A8,  
3, 4, 5A, 5B, +6A/+6D, 7, 7A1, 7A2, +7A3,  
7A4, 8, 9, +10A, 10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3,  
+10C4, 10C5, +11, 12C2, +12C4, 12C5,  
12C6, -12C7, 12D5/ -12D5;

saznati = 1A1, 1C (imperfective 1A1), 2, 3, 4, 5B,  
+6B, 7, +8, 9, +10, +11, +12A1, 12C2,  
12D2, 12D4, +12D5;

shvatiti = 1A1, 1A2, 1C (imperfective 1A2, 1B),  
2A8, 3, 4, 5A, 5B, +6A/+6D, 7, 7A1,  
7A2, +7A3, 7A4, +8, 9, +10A, 10B, +10C1,

+10C2, 10C3, +10C4, 10C5, +11, 12C2,  
 +12C4, 12C5, 12C6, - 12C7, 12D5/-12D5,  
13A1, 13A2, 13A3, -13B, -13C;

spoznati = 1A1, 1C (imperfective 1A), -2A8, -2B1,  
 -2B2, -2B3, -2B4, -2C1, -2C2a, -2C2b,  
 -4A, -4B, 5B, +6A, +7, +8, 9, 10, +11,  
 -12C1, +12C2, 12C3, ~~+12C4~~, +12D5;

(studirati) = 1A2, 3, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11, ~~+12A3~~,  
 +12D2, -12D3, +12D4, +12D5;

učiti = 1A (perfective 1A, 1C), 2, 3, -4A, -4g(A-C),  
 5A, 5B, +6D, 7, 8, 9, 10A, 10B, +10C1,  
 10C2, +10C3, 10C4, 10C5, +11, ~~+12A3~~,  
 +12D2, 12D3, -12D4, +12D5, 12F, +12F1,  
 +12F2, 12F3, -12F4, -12F5, 12F6, -12F7,  
 -12F8, -12F9;

umjeti = 1A, 1B, 1C, -2A3, -2A5, -2A9, -4, 5C,  
 +6C, 7, 8, -9, -10, +11, +12F, 12F1, 12F2,  
12F3, 12F4, 12F5, 12F6, -12F7, -12F8,  
 -12F9;

uočiti = 1A, 1C (imperfective 1A), 2, 3, -4A, 5B,  
 +6B, 7, +8, 9, +10A, +10B, +10C1, -10C2,  
 +10C3, -10C4, +10C5, +11, +12A1, 12E1,  
 +12D5;

- upoznati = 1A, 1C (imperfective 1A), -2A2, -2A3,  
-2A4, -2A5, -2A6, -2A7, -2A9, 3, 5A, 5B,  
+6A, 7, 8, 9, 10A, 10B, +10C1, 10C2,  
+10C3, -10C4, 10C5, +11, ~~12A3~~, 12D2,  
12D3, 12D4, +12D5;
- uvidjeti = 1A, 1C (imperfective 1B), -2C1, -4A, -4e,  
-4g, 5B, +6A, +7, +8, -9B, ~~10~~, ~~11~~,  
+12C1, 12C2, +12C3, ~~12C4~~, +12D5;
- vidjeti = 1A2, 1B, 1C, 2, 3, -4Bg, -4Cg, 5B, +6B,  
7, +7A1, +7A2, 7A3, -7A4, 8, 9, +10A,  
10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4, 10C5,  
+11, 12C1, 12C2, 12C3, 12C4, 12C6, 12D4,  
12D5, -13A1, -13A2, 13A3, -13B, -13C;
- vjerovati = 1B (perfective 1A1, 1C), -2A8, -2C1, 3,  
-4A, +4a, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12D5, 13;
- zapaziti = 1A, 1C (imperfective 1A), 2, 3, -4A, 5A,  
5B, +6B, 7, +8, -9A1, +10A, +10B, +10C1,  
-10C2, +10C3, -10C4, +10C5, +11, +12A1,  
12E1, +12D5;
- znati<sub>1</sub> = 1B, 1C, -2A8, 3, 4, 5A, 5B, +6A, 7, +7A,  
8, 9, 10, +11, 12A3, +12B, 12C1, 12C2,  
12C3, ~~12C4~~, 12D2, -12D3, 12D4,  
12D5, 13(A-B), -13C;

- znati<sub>2</sub> = 1B, 1C, 5C, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11, 12F,  
12F1, 12F2, 12F3, 12F4, 12F5, 12F6, -12F7,  
12F8, -12F9;
- be able = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, -4, 5C, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10,  
+11, +12F, 12F1, 12F2, 12F3, 12F4, 12F5,  
12F6, 12F7, -12F8, 12F9;
- be aware = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, 3, -4g(A-C), 5A, 5B, +6B,  
7, -7A1, -7A2, 7A3, +7A4, +8, -9A1, -9B1,  
10, +11, 12A1, 12A2, -12A3, (12B), 12C2,  
~~12E1~~, 12D5, 13A1, 13A2, 13A3, (13B), -13C;
- be capable of = 1A, 1B, 1C, -2A3, -2A5, -2A9, -4, 5C, +6C,  
7, 8, 9, 10, +11, +12F, 12F1, 12F2, -12F3,  
+12F4, -12F5, 12F6, -12F7, -12F8, 12F9;
- be clear = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, 3, 4, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9, +10A,  
10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4, 10C5,  
+11, 12C2, +12C4, -12C5, 12C6, -12C7,  
12D5, 13A1, -13A2, 13A3, -13B, -13C;
- be conscious = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, -4e, -4g(A-C), 5A, 5B,  
+6B, 7, +8, 9, ~~10~~, ~~11~~, 12A1, 12A2, -12A3,  
12C2, ~~12E1~~, +12D5, 13A1, 13A2, 13A3, (13B),  
-13C;
- believe = 1B, 1C, -2A8, 3, +4a, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,  
12D5, 13A1, 13A2, 13A3, 13B, 13C;

can = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, -4, 5C, +6C, 7, 8, ~~9~~, ~~10~~,  
+11, 12F, 12F1 - 12F11;

conceive = 1A1, 1C, -2B2, -2B3, -2B4, -4A, -4Ba,  
-4g(A-C), 5B, +6C, 7, 8, -9B, 10, +11,  
+12C4, -12C5, 12C6, +12C7, +12D5;

comprehend = 1A2, 1B, 1C, -2A8, -2A9, -2B1, -4Dg, 5A,  
5B, +6A, 7, 7A1, 7A2, +7A3, 7A4, 8, 9,  
+10A, 10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4,  
10C5, +11, 12C2, 12C4, 12C5, 12C6, -12C7,  
12D5;

discover = 1A, 1C, 2, 3, -4Aa, 5A, 5B, +6B, 7, +8,  
9, +10A, +10B, +10C1, -10C2, +10C3,  
10C4, 10C5, +11, 12C2, 12D2, 12D4, 12E1,  
12D5;

feel = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, -4b, -4d, -4e, -4f, -4g(A-C),  
5B, +6D, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12A1, 12A2,  
-12A3, ~~12E1~~, +12D5, 13A1, 13A2, 13A3,  
-13B, 13C;

find out = 1A, 1C, 2, 3, -4Aa, 5B, +6B, 7, +8, 9, ~~10A~~,  
+10B, +10C1, -10C2, +10C3, 10C4, 10C5,  
+11, 12C2, 12D2, 12D4, 12E1, 12D5;

get to know = 1A, 1C, 2, 3, -4Aa, 5A, 5B, +6B, 7, 8, 9,  
10A, +10B, +10C1, 10C2, +10C3, 10C4,

$10C5, +11, +12A1, \underline{12D2}, \underline{12D4}, \cancel{+12D5};$

grasp =  $1A, 1C, -2A8, -2B1, -2B3, -2B5, -4Aa,$   
 $5B, +6A, 7, +8, 9, +10A, 10B, +10C1,$   
 $+10C2, 10C3, +10C4, 10C5, +11, \underline{12C2},$   
 $\underline{12C4}, -\underline{12C5}, +\underline{12C6}, -\underline{12C7}, \underline{12D5};$

hear =  $1A1, 1C, 2, 3, 4, 5B, +6D, 7, 8, 9, 10A,$   
 $10B, +10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4, -10C5,$   
 $+11, +12A1, \cancel{+12D5};$

know =  $1B, 1C, -2A8, 4, 5A, 5B, +6A, 7, +7A1,$   
 $7A2, 7A3, 7A4, 8, 9, 10, +11, \underline{12A3}, +\underline{12B},$   
 $\underline{12C1}, \underline{12C2}, \underline{12C3}, \cancel{+}(12C4), \underline{12D2}, -\underline{12D3},$   
 $\underline{12D4}, \underline{12D5}, \underline{13(A-B)}, -\underline{13C};$

know how =  $1, -2A8, 5C, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11, \cancel{+}12F,$   
 $+12F1, \underline{12F2}, \underline{12F3}, -\underline{12F(4-9)};$

learn<sub>1</sub> =  $1A, 1C, 2, 3, 4, 5A, 5B, +6B, 7, \cancel{+}8, 9,$   
 $+10, +11, \underline{12C2}, \underline{12D4}, -\underline{12D5};$

learn<sub>2</sub> =  $1A, 1C, 2, 3, 5A, 5B, 5C, +6D, 7, 8, 9,$   
 $10A, 10B, +10C1, 10C2, +10C3, 10C4,$   
 $10C5, +11, +12A1, \cancel{+}\underline{12A3}, \underline{12C2}, +\underline{12D2},$   
 $-\underline{12D3}, \underline{12D4}, +\underline{12D5}, 12F, +\underline{12F1}, +\underline{12F2},$   
 $\underline{12F3}, -\underline{12F(4-9)};$

make out =  $1A, 1C, -2A8, -2B1, -2B2, -2B3, -2B4,$   
 $-2B6, -4Ba, -4Dg, 5B, +6B, 7, +8, -9A1,$



- +10, +11, 12C4, +12E1, +12D5;
- notice = 1A, 1C, 2, 3, -4A, 5B, +6B, 7, 8, -9B1,  
10A, +10B, +10C1, -10C2, +10C3, -10C4,  
10C5, +11, +12A1, 12A2, -12A3, ~~+12E1~~,  
+12D5;
- perceive = 1A, 1C, 2, -4A, -4Cg, 5B, +6B, 7, +8, 9,  
+10A, 10B, +10C1, -10C2, +10C3, -10C4,  
10C5, +11, 12C2, 12E1, 12D5, -13A1,  
-13A2, 13A3, -13B, -13C;
- realize = 1A2, 1B, 1C, -2B2, -2B4, -4A, -4Cd, -4e,  
-4Cf, -4G, 5B, +6A, +7, 7A1, 7A2, +7A3,  
+7A4, +8, -9A1, -9B, ~~+10~~, ~~+11~~, 12A1,  
12A2, -12A3, 12C2, 12C3, ~~+12C4~~, 12E1,  
~~+12D5~~, 13A, (13B), -13C;
- recognize<sub>1</sub> = 1B, 1C, 2, -4d, -4f(A-C), -4g, 5B, +6A,  
+7, +8, 9, +10, -11, 12C1, 12C2, +12C3,  
~~+12C4~~, 12E1, 12D5;
- recognize<sub>2</sub> = 1A, 3, 5A, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9, 10, +11,  
+12A1, -12A2, +12A3, 12E1, +12D5;
- see = 1A, 1B, 1C, 2, 3, -4g(B-C), 5B, +6B, 7,  
+7A1, +7A2, +7A3, -7A4, 8, 9, +10A, 10B,  
+10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4, 10C5, +11,  
12C1, 12C2, 12C3, 12C4, 12C6, 12E1, 12D5,

-13A1, -13A2, 13A3, -13B, -13C;

(study) = 1A2, 1C, 3, -4, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9, 10,  
+11, +12A3, +12D2, -12D3, 12D4, +12D5;

(teach) = 1A2, 1C, 3, (4?), 5A, 5B, +6A, 7, 8, 9,  
10, +11, -12A3, -12D2, +12D3, (12D4),  
+12D5;

think = 1A2, 1C, -2A8, 3, +4a, +6C, 7, 8, 9, 10,  
11, +12D5, 13;

understand = 1A2, 1B, 1C, -2A8, -4g, 5A, 5B, +6A/~~6D~~  
7, 7A1, 7A2, +7A3, 7A4, 8, 9, +10A, 10B,  
+10C1, +10C2, 10C3, +10C4, 10C5, +11,  
12C2, +12C4, 12C5, 12C6, -12C7, 12D5/  
-12D5, 13A1, 13A2, 13A3, -13B, -13C.

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